DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 025 546 UD 006 187

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The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks: A Study of the Negro in Selected Junior and Senior High History Textbooks as of September, 1966. Curricular Viewpoints Series.

American Federation of Teachers, Chicago, Ill.

Pub Date Oct 66

Note- 51p.

EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.65

Descriptors- *American History, High Schools, *History Textbooks, Junior High Schools, *Negro History, Textbook Bias, Textbook Content, *Textbook Evaluation

The treatment of the Negro in junior and senior high school history texts is analyzed in a fairly extensive description of 13 widely used books. The document calls attention to the earlier evaluation made by historians of the texts used in the California schools (see ED 017586) and includes an excerpt from that report. In this review the senior high school text entitled "The Rise of the American Nation" by Todd and Curti is ranked the most satisfactory for its discussion of the Negro in American history. It is also said to be the largest selling high school text in the nation. (NH)

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The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks

-- A study of the Negro in selected junior and senior high history textbooks as of September, 1966

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UD 006 / 87

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American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

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Published in October, 1966,
under the research grant program by the
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
Chicago, Illinois

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shs: senior high school
jhs: junior high school

The examples of studies, essays, and addresses calling for the improvement of the presentation of the Negro in American history textbooks are legion. Nor are they legion only today; they have been written and heard---and pleaded---long before the present avalanche.

Early in the present century Edward A. Johnson, a leading Negro historian and teacher of his time, wrote that, "I have observed the sin of omission and commission on the part of white authors, most of whom seem to have written exclusively for white children, and studiously left out the many creditable deeds of the Negro. The general tone of most of the histories taught in our schools has been that of the inferiority of the Negro, whether actually said in so many words, or left to be implied from the highest laudation of the deeds of one race to the complete exclusion of the other." [1]
And as recently as 1965 another outstanding Negro historian and teacher, Charles H. Wesley, could publish a book of essays with the revealing title, *Neglected History: Essays in Negro History*, in which he could still note that the contrasts Johnson made so many years ago are " . . . historically common in our schools today, although they are decreasing, but with neglect and omission . . . deadly silence and implication." [2]

It is not only Negro historians and teachers who make these damning charges against the writing and teaching of the Negro in our secondary schools. Only a few years ago a committee of eminent historians representing the History Department of the University of California, Berkeley, reviewing the American history textbooks that were most widely used in California from the standpoint of their treatment of Negroes, reported " . . . an unhealthy condition in California education." [3]
At another point, it is observed that, " . . . the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro." [4]

The fact is that the account in American history textbooks of Negroes and of their contributions to society has never been complete or well-balanced. To be sure, there has been improvement through the years. One need go back only to the 1950s and compare those editions with 1966 editions of the same texts to see the startling changes and improvements. (Included in this study is a graphic example of this situation. Following the analysis of *The Growth of America*, we reproduce an analysis made of a 1959 edition of this same text. The contrast is dramatic.)

1. Edward A. Johnson, *A School History of Negro Race in America*, Goldman Co., N.Y., 1911, p. III.
2. Charles H. Wesley, *Neglected History: Essays in Negro History*, Central State College Press, Wilberforce, Ohio, 1965, p. 24.
3. Kenneth M. Stampp, Winthrop D. Jordan, Lawrence W. Levine, Robert L. Middlekauff, Charles G. Sellers, and George W. Stocking, Jr., "The Negro in American History Textbooks," Mimeographed Report, Undated, p. 1. This report was unanimously accepted by the California State Board of Education on March 12, 1964. The report was subsequently published in *Integrated Education*, October-November, 1964, pp. 9-26.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Nevertheless, with all the improvements that have been made, even the "best" accounts leave room for further improvement. If for no other reason, there is always need for continually revising textbooks in the light of new or unused material based on historical evidence. The treatment of the Reconstruction is an example of this need. One writer, Mark Krug, has pointed out that, "Most textbook writers tend to overlook the research of the revisionist school."[5] What he is referring to is, of course, the fact that the texts were painting the Reconstruction governments and the Negro participants as villains guilty of graft and corruption beyond words.

It will be seen, however, that most of the current editions of the texts are moving in the direction of better balance in their presentations. The exceptions which remain are shocking. For example, the treatment of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan as a response to the Reconstruction governments in almost all of the texts implies a moral justification, suggesting that the "moderate whites" had no choice. Rarely is there an expression of disapproval of the activities of the Klan.

The purpose of this study is to determine how the Negro is represented in the latest editions of a selected group of secondary school American history textbooks. No indictment of authors or publishers is intended. The writer of this study is not primarily a historian or a scholar; he is a teacher who has been studying and teaching Negro history for several years. For this reason, he has also included at the beginning of the study a reproduction of the University of California's report which deals with what it considers to be "the substantive and interpretive elements relating to Negroes that should be included in textbooks covering the whole period of American history." The purpose of this is to give the reader what this writer believes to be a standard by which to make a judgment as to how a particular text represents the role of the Negro in American history. (If the reader wishes a copy of the relevant *verbatim* passages from one or more of the texts under review, he can obtain it from the research department of the American Federation of Teachers.)

Generalizations at best are doubtful, and at worst they are misleading. Still, there are a few that can be made about the findings of this study. We must recognize at the outset that the inherent nature and limitations of a textbook make impossible the giving of adequate space and proper perspective to almost any topic in American history. Furthermore, a text must not only represent the latest judgments of scholarship, but it must also be tailored down to the level of secondary school students. These factors alone make it clear that a wholly satisfactory treatment of the Negro in American history texts will never really be achieved. Only when we have teachers---as distinguished from texts ---who are well-versed in this history will our secondary school students gain both facts and perspectives about the Negro in the story of our national past. This will come only as a result of spe-

5. Mark Krug, "On Rewriting of the Story of Reconstruction in United States History Textbooks," *Journal of Negro History*, 1961, p. 133.

cialized courses for teachers on the college level and a heightened sense of commitment by teachers about the importance of the subject.

But to come to a few specifics about the historical treatment of the Negro in American history, we can offer the following:

1. *That the Negroes who first arrived in English America came as indentured servants, not as slaves. This at least suggests to the student that it was not an inherent racial inferiority which explains why Negroes became slaves. Unfortunately, only one text indicates that the first Negroes were here with the Spanish explorers, so that their presence in America precedes the English colonists.*

2. *That slavery as an institution was degrading to masters and slaves alike. A few of the texts, however, still cling to the romanticized versions of the happy slave life.*

3. *That the abolition movement was not just a white movement. No text gives enough attention to the participation of Negroes in this struggle for their freedom.*

4. *That Negroes made significant contributions to the wars fought by the United States. While most texts mention the fall of Crispus Attucks in the Boston Massacre, and the number of Negroes who fought in the Civil War, rarely do any of them give this adequate discussion.*

5. *That between Reconstruction and the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the American Negro did not "disappear." In analysis after analysis of the texts, the reader will find the statement that after Reconstruction "200-300 pages pass before we get a reference to the Negro." This is why whites do not always "see" Negroes. As Ralph Ellison puts it, they are "invisible." And the reason they are unseen is that they are left out from such a large part of American history. In most of the texts it can be said that the Negro is considered only as a slave before the Civil War and a problem since the Civil War.*

6. *That the Civil Rights movement should not be explained only in the light of this 1954 decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act.*[6] *Very few of the texts included in this study trace the economic,*

6. It must be indicated here that this generalization as well as some of the others match those made by Astrid C. Anderson in a splendid report she has prepared on the "Treatment of Racial and Cultural Diversity in Elementary School Social Studies Textbooks," for the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs. This report is not yet available for publication or general distribution. In that part of her survey dealing with the treatment of the American Negro in elementary school texts, Miss Anderson shows a far worse and therefore more deplorable situation than that in the secondary school texts. Elementary school students, after all, are in their most formative years and the need for historical truth and perspective is at least as vital as it is in the upper grades. On the whole, the grade school history texts are insipid, inadequate, and inaccurate.

social, and political abuses endured by the Negro in both the North and the South through the long years of his "emancipation."

From the point of view of the Negro student, what he can learn about the Negro in American history is crucial. "It is clear that the life experiences of the Negro child are not such as to aid him in developing a positive sense of himself or of his place in his world," says Jean D. Grambs. "What does this suggest to us? It would seem that a very compelling hypothesis is that the Negro child, from earliest entry through graduation from high school, needs continued opportunities to see himself and his racial group in a realistically positive light . . . he needs to learn about those of his race (and other disadvantaged groups) who have succeeded, and he needs to clarify his understanding of his own group history and current group situation." [7] James Baldwin notes what this might mean for white students, when he writes that, "if . . . one managed to change the curriculum in all the schools so that Negroes learned more about themselves and their real contributions to this culture, you would be liberating not only Negroes, you'd be liberating white people who know nothing about their history." [8]

Assuming that there ever was one in the real sense of the word, there is no "cultural conspiracy" in current textbooks to either eliminate or distort the role of the Negro in American history. For the most part, authors and publishers are making genuine efforts to explode the myths of Negro history and show the Negro's rightful place in the history of this country. [9] But none of the texts have completely succeeded, and several are so far from the target that they invite suspicion. It remains for the individual readers of this study to make their own judgments as to which individual texts meet the standards they seek for their respective classes and schools. Obviously, some texts are "more unequal" than others. For many readers none of the texts meet the standards they seek. It then becomes a matter of compromises. Yet this is true of all text book selection processes. Thus, teachers must assume the responsibility of utilizing supplementary materials, and administrators must assume the responsibility of supplying them. But this above all, it is the knowledge and commitment which the individual teacher brings to the classroom which determines the ultimate success or failure of the achievement we have in mind.

7. W. C. Kvaraceus, et. al., *Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965, p. 21.

8. James Baldwin, "A Talk to Teachers," *Saturday Review*, December 21, 1963, p. 44.

9. See John Hope Franklin, "The New Negro History," *Journal of Negro History*, 1957, p. 89.

Excerpt from the Report of the History Department of the University of California, Berkeley.

". . . the substantive and interpretive elements relating to Negroes that should be included in textbooks covering the whole period of American history."

Early in the seventeenth century Negroes were brought by force from Africa to the English colonies, and over the next fifty years whites in the colonies reduced them to a slavery that was inherited and perpetual. The Negro incurred debasement because he was different, particularly because he was "heathen," black, and helpless. Other colonials entered types of servitude, but the arrangements were usually contractual, their rights were protected by the state, their physical and moral treatment was much better, and their status was temporary. Not even the American Indian, whose exploitation began in the seventeenth century, was reduced to slavery on a substantial scale. Textbooks should tell this story from its African beginnings, through the slave trade, to the enslavement of the Negro.

As the history of the origin of Negro slavery is important, so also is an understanding of slavery as a mature institution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Students should know that it existed in the North until after the Revolution. Textbooks should supply the most important statistics; for example, that in 1860 there were four million slaves in the United States, virtually all located in the South. Although a majority of Southern whites held no slaves, one out of every two persons in the South's fourteen million people was either a slave or a member of a slaveholding family.

There should be a full account of the life of the slave, starting from the fact that he was an article of property held for the profit that could be gained from his labor. Recent scholarship has shown that slaves labored in Southern factories as well as fields. They were often overworked, and customarily housed, clothed, and fed at only a subsistence level. As a result the slave was often ill, and his life expectancy was shorter than that of the whites around him. His master could punish or sell him at will, and could even kill him with near impunity, since slaves were not allowed to testify against white men. The informal character of slave marriages made for an unstable family life; and the whole pattern of debasement under slavery inflicted psychological and sociological scars from which Negroes still suffer.

Understandably the slave resented, even hated, his condition, though he usually disguised his real feelings by subservient behavior designed to protect him from the master's power. Students should be told that slaves often ran away, committed sabotage, and plotted revolts, and that on one occasion a slave, Nat Turner, led a bloody general insurrection against the masters.

Slavery's moral and social evil did not go unremarked in the colonial period. The Quakers, for example, insisted that slavery violated both human dignity and divine law. Not until the Revolution, however, did most Americans become sensitive to the discrepancy between slavery and their professed ideals as embodied in the Declaration of Independence. All the states north of Delaware put the institution on the road to extinction, slavery was banned from the Old Northwest, and the Constitutional Convention opened the way for abolition of the slave trade after 1808. Even in the upper South, where the tobacco economy was languishing, liberal leaders hoped that the gradual operation of economic forces would eventually permit the abolition of slavery. Instead, the developing cotton market revived plantation agriculture. Slaves proved so productive in Southern cotton fields that slaveowners shut their ears to any criticism of the institution until the Civil War brought its demise.

Meanwhile, antislavery sentiment was growing in the North. Even here, racist assumptions caused free Negroes to be segregated and discriminated against; but after 1830 a vocal abolitionist movement had increasing effect.

The efforts of the abolitionists, who included a substantial body of Northern free Negroes, deserve serious and sympathetic exposition in textbooks. They are often derided for their occasional extravagance and for their internal disagreements, yet the fact is that they performed an immense service in educating Americans to the moral evils of slavery.

Abolitionists are frequently blamed for the Civil War by people who also insist that slavery had nothing to do with the coming of the war; that, indeed, the South fought to preserve states rights. Most scholars today agree, however, that slavery, and especially the issue of extending slavery into the territories, was fundamental. Certainly a careful appraisal of the slavery issue in national politics should be included in any textbook covering this period.

When the Civil War came, some 200,000 Negroes participated in the fighting that resulted in their formal emancipation. Following the war they also took an important part in the struggle over Southern Reconstruction, which determined whether their emancipation was to be nominal or full. Reconstruction is a controversial issue in American history. The best scholarship today portrays sympathetically the radical Republicans in Congress, who opposed Lincoln's and later Johnson's plans for bringing the Southern states back into the Union as quickly and painlessly as possible under conservative white leadership. The radicals, this scholarship holds, operated from mixed motives:

to be sure, they were interested in maintaining their political advantage, but they also wished to reform the structure of Southern life. They especially wanted to help the Negro make himself a full partner in a free society.

It is in treating the Reconstruction state governments in the South that the older scholarship is most distorted by racist assumptions and most pernicious in its present-day effects. Modern scholarship overwhelmingly rejects the myth of Reconstruction as a saturnalia of misgovernment and corruption by ignorant and/or venal carpetbaggers, Negroes, and scalawags. Though the Reconstruction regimes had their quota of corruption, as did most other American government units in this period, the student needs to know that the radical Republican experiment for a time made progress toward a healthy reconstruction of Southern society, that many Negroes served ably in the Reconstruction governments, and that the Reconstruction governments had many constructive accomplishments, particularly the extension of the public school system, and the protection of equal civil and political rights of all.

The experiment in Reconstruction failed after a few years, owing to a growing Northern indifference which permitted conservative Southern whites to regain control by violence, through such agencies as the Ku Klux Klan. Soon Negroes had been reduced to a kind of unofficial slavery. The vote was taken from them, first by trickery and intimidation and later by amendments to the state constitutions. Denied economic opportunity, many were exploited as sharecroppers, and others in menial jobs. By the end of the century, they were born and reared in segregated communities, and lived and died in a state of inequality, isolated from the mainstream of American life. Southern state laws and a disastrous Supreme Court decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson,* helped encase them in segregation.

Segregation and violence continued to characterize race relations in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. The hundreds of lynchings which used to occur annually have almost disappeared, but bombings, burnings, and shootings have increased. A more important change has been the movement of millions of Negroes to the cities and to the North. Here, repression has been somewhat more subtle but only somewhat less damaging. Employers and unions relegate most Negroes to menial jobs. They are segregated into ghettoes, where they pay high rents for slum housing. Segregated housing means, in turn, segregated and inferior schools.

The other side of the story is the increasingly vigorous effort, especially by Negroes themselves, to change the situation. The growing Negro vote in crucial Northern cities and the cold-war campaign to win the support of the uncommitted nations of the world has made the federal government responsive to the plight of the Negroes. Prodded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the federal courts began to declare in the 1930s and 1940s against racial

discrimination in voting, jury service, and educational opportunities. This movement culminated in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision of 1954 outlawing racial segregation in the public schools. Meanwhile, the executive branch of the federal government had begun to move against segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and in civil service employment. Some state legislatures acted against discrimination in housing and employment, and Congress took its first cautious steps since Reconstruction to advance civil rights.

In the years since the *Brown* decision, a civil-rights mass movement has taken shape among Negroes, utilizing the tactics of non-violent direct action to demand immediate and full equality in all areas. The Reverend Martin Luther King led Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, in a year-long boycott of the city's segregated bus system. Negro college students launched "sit-ins" throughout the South in a movement that ended segregation at lunch counters and other public facilities in hundreds of Southern communities. "Freedom riders" gave effect to court decisions outlawing segregation in transportation facilities. By 1963, mass demonstrations for equality in public facilities, jobs, education, and housing had spread from the South to many Northern cities and over 200,000 people joined a "March on Washington" in support of President Kennedy's proposal that Congress pass a substantial civil rights bill. These efforts were pursued in the face of mob violence, the arrests of thousands of demonstrators, the assassination of an NAACP leader in Mississippi, and the death of four Negro girls in the bombing of a Birmingham church.

This civil rights revolution seems to us to be one of the major historical events of the mid-twentieth century and to demand full treatment in any American history textbook. The gains that have been made should be described realistically and not as an ode to the inevitable justice and progress of the democratic system. It should be made clear that the outcome of the civil rights struggle is still in doubt, and that the inequalities are so great as to defy quick remedy by even the most vigorous effort.

In the midst of this civil rights revolution, historians and educators have a clear responsibility, at the very outset, to see to it that the role of Negroes in American life is taught fully and accurately. We have tried to indicate what a minimally full and accurate textbook account should be.

Land of the Free

junior high school text

John W. Caughey
John Hope Franklin
Ernest R. May
Benzinger Brothers
New York City
1966

This is an altogether new text for the junior high school student published for the first time in 1966. All three authors are distinguished historians from three leading universities: John W. Caughey of the University of California at Los Angeles, John Hope Franklin of the University of Chicago, and Ernest R. May of Harvard University. It would not be irrelevant or in poor taste to point out that Dr. Franklin is a Negro and is the author of what is at the present time the definitive history of the Negro in America, *From Slavery to Freedom*.[10] He has written numerous articles and delivered lectures criticizing the treatment of the Negro both in the writing and teaching of American history. Under the circumstances, one comes to this text with the highest expectations. Overall, one is not disappointed.

Yet even this volume passes over the presence of Negroes in America before the traditionally expressed 1619 arrival in *English* America. In his own works, Dr. Franklin always points out the presence of Negroes with the earliest Spanish explorers. The absence of this reflection of prevailing historical scholarship is a curious one as well as a disappointing one.

In any case, the usual introduction of the Negro appears in a passage describing the coming to Jamestown. This text does, however, make an impressive effort to get across the point that these first Negroes were "listed in the same way as indentured white servants for whom someone had paid the cost of passage to Virginia. . . " A further important statement is made that, "The first Virginia law enforcing slavery was in 1661."

The victims of the Boston Massacre are described as having "been enshrined as martyrs for liberty, particularly Crispus Attucks, a Negro."

This is the only junior high text which deals with Lord Dunmore's declaration inviting Negroes to join the British, and his establishment of a Negro regiment during the Revolutionary War. This action influenced Washington and the Continental Congress to accept Negroes in the American army.

Too few persons are aware that the original draft of the Declaration of Independence included a charge against George III for protecting and continuing the slave trade. This grievance was struck out at the objections of "slave-owning South Carolina and slave-trading Rhode Island . . . On this issue, thus, the Declaration of Independence was a compromise." The authors are to be commended for dealing with this incident so forthrightly.

This text gives at least the briefest mention of the participation of the Negro in the Revolutionary War. However, a junior high text, particularly, should give more space and attention to the role of Negroes. For one thing, some of the Negro heroes at Bunker Hill and Stony Point deserve attention. Phillis Wheatley and Benjamin Banneker, poetess and mathematician respectively, should be mentioned as interesting personalities of the period.

It is a disappointment to note that the Negroes' participation in the War of 1812 and the tribute paid to them by Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans are omitted in this text.

The interesting episode of the Spanish slaver, *L'Amistad,* is given such a brief account that it fails to make any point for its inclusion.

10. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, (1963).

Next follows a thorough chapter, "The Challenge of Slavery." A brief and well-balanced background of the growth of slavery in the colonies and then in the states is presented. The fact of geographical differences is given as the essential explanation for the division of the country into a free area and a slave area. Accompanying this textual material are a number of statistical figures describing the slave population growth.

A poignant illustration showing "Slave traders on the African coast separate a man from his wife and child" points up one of the most tragic aspects of slavery. It might be appropriate to indicate here that this text contains the largest number of pictures, illustrations, and charts, as well as special page features, dealing with the Negro among all the texts included in this study.

Slavery as a way of life is given a full and forthright account. "Most masters considered their slaves as childlike. They punished them by whipping. Slaves were whipped for disobedience, or, sometimes, to make them work harder. Any slave who struck back could expect severe punishment." This is one of the few texts which admits that masters as much as overseers did the whipping! Furthermore, it is pointed out in this text that *most* masters were harsh and only "some planters almost never punished their slaves and treated them with kindness." This is put the other way around in other texts!

Slaves in town and city who developed trade skills are described. It is related that "white skilled workers usually objected to Negroes learning the trades. One white worker in Mississippi declared he would starve before he would teach a slave his trade." This is an important fact to get across to students who are too often left with the impression that an inherent inferiority explains the Negro's failure to be a skilled tradesman.

There is then an excellent account of "What it meant to be a slave." Rarely do the texts explore the emotional scars of slavery. The titles of the songs of the slaves are given as an indication of the deep undercurrent of sadness and despair, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen" and "Let My People Go." This makes dramatically clear to the student that the Negro did not accept his slave status. "A few slaves were so desperate that they cut off their own hands or committed suicide." Rarely do students get the point so bluntly as this---too rarely.

The uprisings of Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner are each given brief consideration. Importantly, it is pointed out that "there were other attempts to revolt . . . "

The Underground Railroad receives a full and spirited account, accompanied with a reproduction of a splendid painting, "Trying to make it to freedom."

A full feature page describing the life and career of Harriet Tubman follows this topic. This, too, is accompanied by an illustration, "Harriet Tubman leading slaves to freedom." The impact on the student of seeing as well as reading about a Negro woman bravely leading her own people in this way cannot be underestimated.

At this point the authors give us an account of the abolitionist movement. Here we get the high moral ideals which prevailed in this movement. "They believed that they were conducting a holy crusade against the world's worst evil, and they insisted that the future of the country depended on the end of slavery." More than this, the participation of Negroes themselves, people such as Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, is discussed.

All of this is balanced by a presentation of the Southern argument defending slavery. "With these arguments, Southerners came to look upon slavery as a 'positive good.' As has been said, the slave became the 'symbol of the South and the cornerstone of its culture.'"

The violent reaction to the abolitionists, both in the South and the North, is described.

A detailed and spirited account of the defiance of the fugitive slave law follows. This is one of the few texts sympathetic to the account as well as the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. "It simply told what often happened

between masters and slaves." Unlike other texts, the authors conclude that " . . . the story rang true."

A feature page, "The Return of Anthony Burns to Slavery," serves to give the student an authentic as well as dramatic picture of the emotions which prevailed at the time.

The Negro's participation in the Civil War is given minimum attention. There is a single statement that early in the War "Negroes volunteered, but were not accepted," and later on another statement that "before the end of the war, 186,000 Negroes had enlisted in the Union army." A number of the high school texts consider some of the heroic battles waged by Negro troops.

We would expect, and in fact we get, a thoroughly balanced presentation of the Reconstruction era in a text whose authors include a historian---Professor Franklin---who has written extensively on the subject. The chapter itself confronts the student-reader with a full-page illustration showing Beverly Nash, a Negro member of the South Carolina Constitutional Convention, addressing an integrated audience.

The Black Codes are described as "a step back toward slavery and gave whites an excuse to treat Negroes unjustly." Thus, the North realized that "the Southerners were not willing to accept the results of the war. They seemed intent on holding down the Negroes." The authors of this text acknowledge that the Radical Republicans "believed that more positive steps should be taken to give the Negroes a fair chance." More often than not the other texts attribute only selfish political motives to the Radical Republicans who wished to assist the freedmen as well as win votes.

The treatment of the Reconstruction governments reflects the best historical scholarship which recognizes, for example, that not all the Northerners who moved south came to exploit the section."Some of them came to teach and uplift the Negroes. Some came to invest and help the South recover. Some came as money-hungry adventurers." It is clearly pointed out that, "Negroes were never in control of any Southern government." A number of the leading Negro statesmen of the period are described and for most readers it is an eye-opening passage. It pulverizes the common notion that illiterate, money-grasping ex-slaves ran the South during this period.

After describing the constructive accomplishments of these men and the legislatures generally, the authors concede that there were "lapses from good behavior" and give examples. "But as compared to the scandals in the federal government in the 1870s and in New York City, these errors were small."

Few texts match this one in its strong description of the Ku Klux Klan activities which so many texts intimate the South was "forced" to pursue in order to get out from under the Reconstruction governments.

This topic is ended with a compelling summary which places the responsibility of what happened to the Negro ---then and thereafter---where it belongs. "The Southern states, after 1877, also enacted a battery of Jim Crow laws. The purpose was to separate the races wherever possible. Almost always it worked out that facilities for Negroes were far poorer than those for whites. Under these laws, the Negro was treated as an inferior. By allowing this to happen, by turning its back on the Negro, the North was also turning its back on a great moral principle, the principle of equal rights and fair treatment."

Apart from some photographs and illustrations, no further mention of the Negro appears for more than two hundred pages, until a brief feature on Dr. Charles R. Drew, the developer of the blood bank procedure. This is a curious gap, and hopefully a future edition will fill it.

In any case, coming up to the present, the civil rights movement is given a complete and balanced treatment. Various charts, illustrations, and long quotations as well as detailed accounts of incidents are all presented.

This text promotes itself as a "contribution to the cause of equal opportunity for all Americans . . . refusing to deal with the history of the United States as one con-

tinuous episode of progress, free from mistakes and social injustice." At least from the point of view of its handling of the Negro in the American past, this writer concludes that it succeeds admirably.

The Story of Our Country

junior high school text
Clarence L. Ver Steeg
Harper & Row
New York City
1965

This text is written by a single author, an exception to the general situation which finds the other texts prepared by two or more writers. Professor Clarence L. Ver Steeg of Northwestern University is the author. The content and style of the text suggests that it is aimed at a very "average" junior high school class.

The Negro is introduced as having accompanied the earliest Spanish explorers. Not even Dr. Franklin's admirable text starts out so hopefully. Not only this, but the Negro explorer, Esteban, is named and is given credit for having helped lay claim "to what is now Texas and the southwestern United States." The text goes on to relate that "other Negroes came against their will" and that "the Spanish brought shiploads of Negroes from Africa to work in the colonies as slaves."

Later, the traditional arrival of 20 Negroes in Virginia in 1619 is mentioned. It is made very clear, however, that this group was taken on as indentured servants, and not as slaves, "and they quickly became good workers." The point is also made to the student that the idea of slavery "was a very old one, and it was common in many parts of the world at that time . . . People of any race or color might be made slaves by the people of a stronger nation . . . " This gets across to the student that it was not a reflection of any inherent inferiority of the Negro which "naturally" made him a slave, a notion so often held by students.

The author goes on to say that some slaves were found in all the English colonies, north and south, but that slavery became more important in the South, "where many workers were needed to grow crops."

The only mention of the Negro during the period of the Revolutionary War is the death of Crispus Attucks, "a Negro who escaped from slavery and had become a sailor" in the Boston Massacre.

The subject of slavery is very superficially treated. The life of the slave is passed over with a short, almost insipid statement that, "In the cotton fields, Negro slaves worked from dawn until dark."

The Northern opposition to slavery is quickly dismissed with brief references to abolitionists who "thought it was their duty to work and speak against slavery. They helped slaves to escape from the South." Harriet Tubman is mentioned, but the Underground Railroad is not! William Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Weld also get brief recognition. The author does make the rare positive statement that "some abolitionists were Negroes," and goes on to mention Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass in this connection.

Reference to free Negroes is made by relating that by 1860 there were nearly 500,000 of them in the United States. Furthermore, it is pointed out that many of them "became farmers. Others made their living as carpenters, sailors, or bricklayers. Still others became teachers or owners of small shops." This is a useful bit of information to have so that students' image of the Negro goes beyond that of an unskilled slave-hand.

The only reference to the Negro in the Civil War comes in the caption to a colored print which shows a group of Negro soldiers posing at a military camp with a white officer. It states that "Over 300,000 Negroes served the Union during the (Civil) War. They fought in many

important battles."

The Reconstruction period is also quickly and superficially dismissed with a statement that the Negroes had problems of work and education during this time. Nothing is offered concerning the Reconstruction governments.

A few passages pointing out what happened to the Negro after the Civil War include statements such as, "Some Negroes went to live in cities in the South. Later, many moved to cities in the North to find work in factories."

The founding of the NAACP and the Urban League is then discussed. In conclusion, the author writes that "Many Negroes worked to make their lives better and to help build a stronger America. In time, Negroes became important teachers, doctors, scientists, athletes, musicians, and lawyers. But the road to freedom has been long and hard." Actually, it would have been more to the point to use the work "equality" rather than "freedom" to set the stage for the post-Civil War period.

The civil rights movement is given a one-page survey. A paragraph headed "Much remains to be done" discusses the problems Negroes faced after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. A photograph showing Carl Rowan with President Johnson as an example that "Negroes gained important jobs in government" is the last of the three pictures in the entire text showing a Negro.

As in a number of the other texts directed at slower readers or students, the topic of the Negro, as with all other topics for the most part, is inadequate in space and superficial in content. The irony is that these students are cheated as much if not more than if they were more able than they are. At least the faster students may fill in gaps through their own initiative. Under the circumstances, the texts aimed at this level do a more damaging job than the so-called "superior-student" oriented book.

The author of this text, however, must be commended for making a number of very positive statements and including at least one or two points frequently omitted from more substantial texts.

The Making of Modern America

senior high school text
Leon H. Canfield
Howard B. Wilder
Houghton Mifflin Company
Cambridge, Mass.
1966

Both authors of this text are secondary school history teachers, although Leon H. Canfield is described as having served as a Professor of History at Fairleigh Dickinson College in New Jersey in addition to his secondary school background. Howard B. Wilder, the second author, headed the social studies department at Melrose High School in Massachusetts, where he later served as principal. Since this text contains the most inadequate account of the Negro in comparison to the other texts included in our survey, it may be relevant to indicate the lack of a professional historian among the authors of the text. While the eminent historian John D. Hicks is listed as a "consulting editor," one must take a dim view of how much participation he really has had in the preparation of the book.

In any case, right at the outset this text introduces the Negroes who arrived in 1619 as slaves, ignoring the prevailing view of historical scholarship that they were indentured servants.

No further mention of the Negro appears in the Colonial or Revolutionary period other than to indicate the early use of plantation slaves because "the slave (was) a better investment than the indentured servant." At

the end of these periods, more than 100 pages later, it is pointed out that the North began to free slaves and that "there were even many Southerners who looked upon slavery as a necessary evil."

Again another 100 pages or so pass before another statement dealing with the Negro appears. Here the authors relate that slavery retarded southern population growth because immigrants avoided the South since they did not wish to compete with slave labor.

The first full discussion dealing with the Negro is in connection with slavery, and it briefly treats the question of the slave's life " . . . the general picture of slavery was a dreary one." This sets the tone of the vague discussion.

The economic disadvantages of slavery are then given in some detail. For one thing, the cotton planter had to maintain the expenses of the slave whether business was good or bad. Other disadvantages were that the slaves were "perishable property" and that they were not willing workers. Their work called for "constant expensive supervision." The implications of this latter point about the attitude of the Negro toward his status are not at all suggested.

It is, however, pointed out that in spite of these economic disadvantages, movements to free slaves on the part of Southerners themselves failed "because it would have brought economic losses and created social problems in the South." The inconsistency of these two passages is obvious.

Garrison's role and leadership in the abolition movement follow. Emphasis is placed by the authors not on the objectives or ideals of the movement, but on the opposition it aroused in both the North and South. At best, "the abolitionists made the differences between the North and South even more pronounced than before." Typical of the authors' attitude is the statement that "Abolition efforts seemed to thrive on opposition and persecution." Clearly this treatment is hardly aimed at arousing a sympathetic attitude on the part of the student reader.

The Underground Railroad is quickly dismissed as "the most dramatic activity of the abolitionists." The participation in this movement by Negroes is omitted. Indeed, this text has not at this point yet mentioned a single Negro personality! Not even Crispus Attucks gets recognition, even though the Boston Massacre is given more detailed treatment than in most other texts.

Only after the Civil War do we meet any further reference to the Negro. The era is opened with the statement that "Southern reconstruction was made even more difficult since over 33-1/2 million Negroes had suddenly been set free by the war."

The notorious Black Codes were passed, according to the authors, to take care of the problem of "the wandering and unemployed freedmen (who) became a problem to the state governments organized in the South after the war." It is pointed out, however, that from the Northern point of view "these black codes (were) a clear attempt to make the Negro a slave in everything but name."

Following the traditional view of the Reconstruction era, the authors state that the Radical Republicans "wanted to punish the Southerners" as the motivation for their policies which protected the Negroes. While political reasons certainly were a part of their motivation, a sincere desire to help the Negro also entered into it. The topical heading, "Reconstruction governments upset the South," reflects the negative tone of the text in this discussion. Even where a positive comment is made, it is more than off-balanced with a negative follow-up. "While *some* carpetbaggers and scalawags were genuinely interested in good government, *many* were chiefly interested in power and profit for themselves." (Emphasis mine.)

Another heading, "Reconstruction governments spend public funds," is patently prejudicial. Of course governments spend public funds! It turns out that the authors are suggesting that since the legislators as individuals "owned little property and paid few taxes" they were guilty of improper conduct in voting large appropriations!

Needless to say, no mention of the Negroes' contribution during this period is made. The authors do point out that "in South Carolina . . . about two-thirds of the members of the lower house were ex-slaves." This can only serve to leave the impression that Negroes dominated the Southern state governments elsewhere as well. Rather than indicate some of the distinguished Negroes who served their states well during this period, the reader is told that "ex-slaves" served.

"Some Southern whites, unable to improve conditions in a lawful and orderly way, decided to go outside the law," the authors tell us. So they seek to "improve conditions" through the violence of the Ku Klux Klan. No judgment about this is even intimated. "Its methods were very effective," the text assures us. Are they suggesting that conditions were thereby "improved"? It did deprive the Negro of his rights, and for the Southerners this was the improvement sought.

This time 250 pages pass before we come again to the Negro in this text. Here we have a section dealing with the contributions of immigrants to American life. Inevitably, a photograph of George Washington Carver is offered. A summary paragraph deals with the shift of the Negro from the South to the Northern cities. A second paragraph, "Negroes make progress," does state that the "Negroes had great obstacles to overcome." As evidence that their position had improved, Jackie Robinson's admission to major league baseball is cited. More than that, "In recent Olympic Games, Negro athletes have won many points for the American teams." There is, however, a further paragraph listing a more impressive and more varied group of Negroes in the arts, sciences, and statecraft.

After 200 pages without reference to the Negro, the text's closing pages do give a reasonable amount of space and content to the Civil rights movement.

This text fails quantitatively and qualitatively to measure up to the standards of historical treatment the American Negro deserves.

The Growth of America

junior high school text
Rebekah R. Liebman
Gertrude A. Young
Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs, N. J.
1966

Rebekah R. Liebman is a high school principal in Baltimore and has taught history at that level for many years. The other author of this text, Gertrude A. Young, is a junior high school English teacher.

The Negro is introduced after a discussion of the use of white indentured servants on the tobacco plantations in Jamestown. The arrival of the Negroes in 1619 "was the beginning of Negro slavery in our country."

The authors make a significant point not often made to students when they explain that the white man could pay back his passage money and be free. "But the Negroes, coming from a foreign land, being of different color, and, in the beginning, having no one interested in their welfare, were unable to change their lot."

In a chapter dealing with colonial life there are a few paragraphs devoted to the life of the slave on plantations. "The life of the Negro slave was not easy," sets the tone and facts for this account. All of the cruel aspects of the system are mentioned: the separation of families at the will and whim of the owners, the impunity with which owners could injure or even kill their slaves, the constant work, the poor housing, and the lack of good family life, which in turn caused many illnesses and even shortened the life of Negro slaves.

The cruelty of the overseers is explained by the fact that "their jobs depended on the amount of work they did."

Finally, a splended conclusion: "Both groups [house servants and field hands who were described as having animosities toward each other] had one thing in common: they hated slavery. To protect themselves from their masters' disfavor, most of them hid their real feelings by being pleasant, obedient, and hard-working. Frequently slaves ran away. Some even went so far as to plot against their masters."

After this reference, however, there is no further mention of the Negro until half the text is covered and the authors come to a chapter on the events leading to the Civil War. The question of slavery is treated as the "third big question that caused differences between the sections."

The early opposition to the idea of slavery is briefly reviewed and a number of the Founding Fathers are listed as opposed to it---although they did nothing about it, except, in some cases, to free their slaves in their wills. Opposition at that time in both the North and the South is related. Then the cotton gin was invented and "this caused a greater need for slaves."

The authors then note that many Southern cotton growers knew slavery was wrong, but "what they did not understand was how they could make a profit on their cotton without the help of slave labor."

An interesting and exclusive "twist" in this text is that its extremely brief and even inadequate treatment of the Northern abolitionist movement makes no mention of William Lloyd Garrison or any other white abolitionists, but does make the statement that, "the abolitionists, *many of whom were free Negroes,* wanted to do away with slavery." This passage is accompanied by photographs of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, "both escaped slaves, (who) worked to help free other slaves." No other text places as much emphasis---and properly so---on the Negro participation.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is cited as "an additional item which brought the evils of slavery forcefully to the attention of the people." The authors emphasize the hatred this novel created on both sides.

"Another cause for the growing hatred (between North and South) was the 'underground railroad.'" A good summary account of both the operation and the influence of the Underground Railroad is presented here.

One of the most impressive aspects of this text, which almost makes it a standout among all the texts surveyed in our study, is that in the chapter dealing with the Civil War (and to its further credit there is a sentence which reads that, "In every way this War Between the States was truly a Civil War"), there is a section titled, "The Negroes Take Part." Beginning with a question everywhere else greatly overlooked, "What part did Negroes play in the war which freed them from slavery?" the authors first make the point that, "Even before the war began, many of the free Negroes were abolitionists and were willing to give their lives for the freedom of all Negroes." The section goes on to review further the activities of *Negro abolitionists* and the flight of Negroes to freedom because "they would no longer live as slaves."

The section then traces the early efforts of the Negroes to join the Northern army. It goes on not only to specify (as many texts now do) how many Negroes served in the Northern army (200,000), but also to state (which no other text does) how many were in the navy (30,000). More than that, the text relates that 37,000 were killed and "many more thousands injured." Finally, it notes that "Negroes took part in 450 battles of the war, 20 received the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest honor our country can give to a fighting man." All of this gives this text special distinction indeed.

Continuing in this admirable direction, the Reconstruction era is given one of the most positive accounts encountered in our study. Beginning with a description of the Freedmen's Bureau, one which avoids the brickbats of other texts, this text concludes with the statement that, "For the first time in their lives, many Negroes earned money for their labor in jobs found for them by the Freedmen's Bureau."

The account of the Reconstruction governments and the participation of the Negroes in them is almost

weighted in their favor, in contrast to the usual textbook presentation! "They (Negroes) helped organize new state governments and remove some of the anti-Negro laws known as the Black Codes. Along with the white members of the legislatures, they established systems of free public education and made new laws providing help for poor whites as well as Negroes. Between 1869 and 1900, Negroes from Southern states served in Congress . . . " No textbook in our study matches the point of view reflected here, and very few mentioned the fact of Negro Congressmen and Senators.

The description of the scalawags and carpetbaggers also gets a well-balanced presentation.

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan is described straightforwardly with no intimation of sympathy for the "need" of moderate white Southerners to operate this way out of "desperation," as implied by so many of the other text writers.

At this point there begins a long silence and there is no mention of the Negro for more than another 100 pages. Nevertheless, the section which picks up the subject again, "An Important Social Revolution Begins," is one of the most persuasive and impressive accounts on the topic of the civil rights movement which appears in any of the texts studied. Not only is it admirable for the information it gives, and the review of the facts of history which are involved, but for the clear-cut point of view the authors are willing to give the students. The final sentence exemplifies the point: "When each person is willing to give every other person all the rights he wants for himself, and does so, then all Americans will be truly equal." Amen.

While this text leaves out too much about Negroes, what it does include it does so well that it must be placed among the very best treatments available for junior high school students.

This judgment is in sharp contradistinction to the judgment Professor Lawrence Levine has made of the first (1959) edition of this text. The difference in the two editions is tremendous. Following this analysis of the 1966 edition we have reproduced Professor Levine's analysis which he made for the University of California History Department's Committee to study the treatment of the Negro in texts used in California schools. The comparison of the two editions is significant and enlightening. It points up what a difference a difference makes.

Review from the University of California study:

Rebekah R. Liebman and Gertrude A. Young, *The Growth of America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959). A supplementary textbook for grade eight.

COLONIAL PERIOD

The first mention of Negroes in this book is with relation to their introduction into Virginia "as slaves" in 1619. There is no mention of where they came from nor is the continent of Africa mentioned once in this book. At no time in the discussion of slavery is there any attempt to explain what slavery actually was or how it differed from other labor systems such as indentured servitude which receives several paragraphs. The reasons given for the introduction of slavery are wholly economic: "No one person could do by himself all the work that was necessary for growing crops on such a large piece of land, so the southern planter had slaves to help him." (p. 78) There is no attempt to explain why slavery was wholly *Negro* slavery. This seems to be taken for granted. In the rather extended discussion of the colonial plantation economy there is no direct description of the life and condition of the slaves though there is a strong intimation that it was quite decent.

The slaves did most of the work, but the plantation owner worked too . . . He had to see that his family

was well provided for and also that there was enough food and clothing for his slaves. Not many planters neglected their slaves, since each one represented a great deal of money . . . The planter's wife . . . saw to it . . . that the health of her family and of the slaves was good. (pp. 78-79.)

The only comment that can even remotely be construed as a criticism of slavery is this stark one-sentence paragraph which appears in a discussion of colonial education: "For the slave population there was no education." (p. 86) There are no reasons given for this nor are the consequences of the lack of education pointed out. There is no further mention of slavery or the Negro during the colonial period or the Revolution or the early national period though in the section on Ante-Bellum America there is mention of the fact that the Northern states abolished slavery (no dates or reasons are given) and that such leaders as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, and Henry opposed slavery (again no reasons are given).

ANTE-BELLUM PERIOD

The treatment of slavery in the section dealing with the causes of the Civil War (which is quaintly titled "WE DECIDE TO SEPARATE and then to UNITE") is as vague as it was in the earlier parts of this text. Again there is absolutely no description of slavery as an institution or a way of life and the term "slave" itself is nowhere defined. All that is mentioned is that the South was convinced that slavery was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of their economy and a group of people in the North called abolitionists felt that slavery was an evil. But there is not even a hint of the reasons for the latter's antipathy to slavery. Indeed, if anything, the authors' treatment of slavery can be called favorable. In a sub-section entitled "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN CAUSES TROUBLE" they have this to say of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel:

It told of the sufferings of the slaves of the South and of the cruelty of the slave owners.

Actually Uncle Tom's Cabin was not a fair nor a truthful picture of the conditions of the slaves. Although some slaves may have been badly treated, for the most part, they were not.

Slaves represented a great deal of money to their owners, and their owners took care of them. There was also in many cases a close feeling between the slaves and their masters which the Abolitionists did not understand. (p. 288).

The treatment of the events leading up the Civil War is generally brief and inadequate. The Dred Scott Decision, for instance, is described as follows:

The Supreme Court of the United States decided two things: (1) that Dred Scott was still a slave, and (2) that a slave owner had a right to take his slaves to any part of the country where there were no laws against slavery. (p. 290).

The part of the decision which most upset the North---that Congress could take no action with relation to slavery in the territories---is completely ignored.

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The treatment of the Civil War (which in these pages is almost invariably called The War Between the States) focuses mainly upon military events, though this novel and fanciful account of the origins of the Emancipation Proclamation is given:

During the war the people of the South had been using their slaves to do many jobs which helped in the war effort. They cooked for the army, dug trenches, drove wagons.

The leaders in the North said that something should be done to stop this use of slaves. Lincoln's answer was the Emancipation Proclamation. (pp. 307-309).

There is no mention of the participation of the Negro in the Northern war effort.

The brief treatment of Reconstruction is the standard anti-Radical Republican pro-Southern Democrat account. Again there is no attempt to describe the condition of the freedmen. The 13th and 14th Amendments are mentioned without comment and the 15th is described with an obvious lack of approval:

The right to vote or to hold office was not given to the leaders of the Confederacy. However, the Negroes were given these rights, although few of the Negroes could read or write; and none had any experience in government. (pp. 318-319).

There is no description of the advances in civil rights made under the Reconstruction governments though the corruption of the Carpetbaggers is vaguely described. There is also this totally amoral account of the K.K.K.:

The purpose of the Ku Klux Klan was to frighten the Negroes and the people who were in control of the Southern state legislatures. The organization lasted for a time; but as the Southern states became once more part of the Union, there was no longer any reason for the existence of an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan. (pp. 319-320).

Why there was no longer any reason for the Klan and precisely what happened to the Negro after Reconstruction is not explained. Indeed, this is the last mention of the Negro in this text. Although the book was published in 1959 and mentions events as recent as the launching of American space satellites in 1958, there is not one word about the civil rights movement, the migration of Negroes to the North, the condition of Negroes in the 20th Century, or the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision. After Reconstruction, the Negro, who was treated vaguely enough up till then, becomes wholly invisible.

The striking thing about this volume is the dehumanized way in which Negroes are treated. They are mentioned only in the institutional setting of slavery, and there inadequately, but never as human beings; their way of life, their problems, their gains, their struggles, are totally ignored. Not one Negro individual is named, with the exception of Dred Scott. Words like "segregation," "desegregation," "integration," do not appear once anywhere in this account. In a book which has two or three illustrations on every page, there are only two illustrations depicting Negroes, both of them during slavery.

It should be mentioned that the authors are not morally obtuse or unwilling to take a stand on every issue. Thus, they criticize the manner in which the Mormons were treated and describe their hardships (p. 263); they describe the often inhuman conditions of early factories, the plight of the workers and justify the rise of labor unions (pp. 275-276); the American Indians are treated sympathetically and the treatment accorded them by the white settlers is criticized (p. 336); the immigrants are treated with a bit less sympathy but at least their plight is described (pp. 360-361). The authors' treatment of the Negro therefore is not typical of their treatment of a number of other groups which have been victims of intolerance. The Negro above all is singled out not only for unsympathetic and inadequate treatment but for non-treatment.

Lawrence W. Levine

Story of the American Nation

junior high school text
Mabel B. Casner
Ralph H. Gabriel
Edward L. Biller
William H. Hartley
Harcourt, Brace & World
New York City
1962; with 1964 supplement

There are four authors credited for this text. Mabel B. Casner has been a junior high school history and geography teacher and has had extensive background in textbook writing. Ralph Henry Gabriel is a distinguished historian who serves as Sterling Professor of History (Emeritus) at Yale University. The third author, Edward L. Biller, was a junior high school teacher and is now a supervisor in social studies in the Baltimore secondary schools. William H. Hartley is a teachers college professor who has specialized in preparing teachers for teaching junior high school social studies

courses.

Defying present historical scholarship, and standing almost alone among modern texts in this connection, Negroes are introduced as slaves rather than as indentured servants. Nor is this introduction presented in the usual way. That is, there is no mention of the 1619 arrival in Jamestown. The point comes up only with reference to an explanation as to how the colonists solved their labor shortage: "indentured servants and Negroes." And it took 72 pages of text before this first reference to the Negro takes place! Nor does it happen for another 300 pages except for a brief comment that, "We would not approve of [The Triangular Trade] since it involved the buying and selling of slaves. But in the 1600s and 1700s few people felt that slavery was wrong."

This text manages to pass over the slavery system as well as to avoid any reference to Negroes as personalities or to their participation in American life from this period through the early 19th century attempts to abolish slavery. At this point, the authors trace the opposition to slavery in both the North and South. The American Colonization Society's work is described simply as having "bought Negro slaves from their owners, set them free, and helped them get to the West coast of Africa. The descendants of these former Negro slaves today have a country of their own, the African republic of Liberia." This over-simplified account makes no mention of the movement's failure, least of all the reasons for it.

The Nat Turner rebellion is described in the next two sentences. While the Southern fears following this incident are observed, the subsequent enactment of restrictive laws is not mentioned.

Two short paragraphs dismiss Garrison and the Northern abolitionist movement. The authors find it necessary to explain to the reader how to pronounce "abolitionist," ("a-bo-lish-un-ists") suggesting that this text is indeed aimed at a student with a very low reading level. This may explain, but not justify, the superficial, brief accounts given the topics.

One sentence is given to the Northern argument against slavery, "the buying and selling of human beings" is evil. But a paragraph is devoted to the Southern argument in defense of slavery.

The Underground Railway is given a short, summary account. This concludes the "treatment" of the anti-slavery movement.

The Fugitive Slave Law is cited at a later point as a factor in the eventual outbreak of hostilities.

There is no further reference to the Negro until after the "War Between the North and South" and the Reconstruction period are discussed. This discussion begins with a positive description of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau for the Negroes.

The passages on the Reconstruction governments are consistent with the level of the text: almost insipid and completely superficial. Furthermore, the point of view is weighted in favor of the old "scholarship" concerning the nature and the accomplishments of these governments. A sample of this appears in this presentation: "The Congressional Reconstruction plan put scalawags and carpetbaggers in power and kept them there. Once the plan went into operation, scalawags and carpetbaggers held most of the high offices in the Southern states. Negro voters elected them, along with some former slaves." There is, however, a sentence at a later point acknowledging that, "Some of the new state officials were sincere men, eager to help the South," and that, "Some good laws were passed during the Reconstruction period."

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan is quickly summarized as a matter of the Southerners taking "matters into their own hands." The authors state that, "Because it was the Negro voters who kept the state governments in power, Southerners struck at the Negro." No mention is made of the violence against the "scalawags and carpetbaggers." Only the Negro.

The Southern states are credited for beginning "to provide education for all their young people" at the end of the Civil War. The segregated Negro institutions of Fisk, Hampton, and Tuskegee are all cited (as in

most texts) as examples of this "progress." Booker T. Washington gets his inevitable as well as exclusive mention at this point. No other Negro personalities are recognized in this text, at least not in the body of the 1962 edition. As we shall note shortly, the 1964 supplement appended to this text adds considerable material.

The last reference to the Negro appears 250 pages later when the text offers a discussion of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case. Following this is a paragraph citing the provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. There is no attempt to consider the events and circumstances leading up to this legislation.

This 1962 edition of the text ends its treatment of the Negro at this point. The 1964 edition surveyed here includes a "built-in" supplement which comes after the index. Without this supplement we would describe this book as a total disaster in terms of its treatment ---or lack of it---of the Negro. The supplement, on the other hand, is one of the longest and most detailed accounts of the civil rights movement available in any of the texts. Most impressive are the forthright statements of judgment on the righteousness of the struggle. If the body of the text were to be revised and given the same standards of treatment, it would stand among the strongest rather than among the weakest texts in this study.

Our Nation From Its Creation

senior high school text
Nathaniel Platt
Muriel Jean Drummond,
Prentice-Hall
Englewood Cliffs, N. J.
1964

Both authors, Nathaniel Platt and Muriel Jean Drummond, are high school teachers in New York City. They have long careers in textbook writing, but they are not historians who have spent the major part of their professional lives in such study and research.

The Negro appears on the second page of this text in a passing reference that except for Negroes and Indians "practically all the colonists were of European origin."

The first "official" reference comes, however, in the usual way when the authors state that, "Another significant event of 1619 (the arrival of single girls and the establishment of the House of Burgesses being the other events) was the arrival of a Dutch ship bringing the first Negroes to land in English America . . . " Few texts make the point that it was "English America" in which this first group landed, suggesting at least that other Negroes might have been in "America" before this. While students are not likely to pick this up, perhaps teachers who happen to know about the Negroes who accompanied the Spanish explorers will make the point.

For more than 300 pages, there is no further mention of the Negro. Then he is reintroduced in a section dealing with the events leading up to the Civil War.

The authors go back to discuss the slave trade in a topic headed, "Some Roots of the Slavery Problem." They show here that Northerners, particularly, profited from it. The horrors of the ship are graphically de-

scribed.

It is then noted that the labor shortage in the colonies encouraged the growth of slavery. The statement is made that, "At first, Negroes were considered not slaves but more like indentured servants."

While the fact that slave uprisings actually took place, and the names of some or any one of them, is lacking, the authors note that fear of slave rebellions caused the Southern states to pass "strict laws regulating slaves."

A brief passage explaining why slaves were more in demand in the South than in the North is expressed in the usual way, lack of economic need in the North and the planters' belief that, "Negroes could stand the intense heat on Southern plantations much better than whites." Actually, this latter "explanation" is less sophisticated and perhaps more simplified than most high school texts.

No discussion is given to the life of the slave and his treatment. The text moves directly into the antislavery movement of the 18th century, which was supported at that early period by both Northerners and Southerners. Some of the spiritual and moral objections to slavery are mentioned. The influence of European philosophers on the American antislavery movement of the period is indicated. The economic reasons for opposing slavery are stated in two sentences, one for the North ("cheaper to do one's own work on small farms, or to hire or fire free labor") and another for the South ("slave labor not as profitable as in the past"). No clear indication of the moral objection frequently brought out in other texts is suggested here.

The effect of the American Revolution, the Northwest Ordinance, and the Constitution on slavery is, however, noted by the authors. Lastly, the attempt to resettle the slaves back in Africa through the American Colonization Society is described. Its failure is attributed to the inability of the Negroes to survive there (an interesting observation, since earlier we learn that it was the Negroes' ability to stand "the intense heat on the Southern plantation" that made them so suitable as slave labor). In any case, the Negroes' own general refusal to leave America is not considered as a reason for the failure of this "solution."

At this point the pro-slavery sentiment of the South, which increased from the time of the invention of the cotton gin, is discussed.

The Northern abolitionist movement is then introduced under the emotionally-charged heading, "Garrison Considers Abolition of Slavery More Important Than the Preservation of the Union." This kind of introduction sets the tone for the account and conveys a hostile attitude toward abolitionism. The remainder of the paragraph maintains this tone.

The authors go on to distinguish other abolitionists who, "unlike the radical Garrison and his followers, were moderate abolitionists." This group advocated "gradualism," which probably accounts for the more sympathetic treatment from the authors.

There is, however, after this a long list of leading abolitionists including Whittier and Emerson, from whose works brief quotes are given. While Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman are included in the list, nothing more is noted than their names.

Under the heading, "Some Actions and Arguments of Abolitionists," a short passage describes the Underground Railroad. After noting some persuasive arguments of the "radical" abolitionists, the authors observe that, "Some abolitionists exaggerated the cruelty of slave owners in order to make more effective propaganda." They go on to note that, "some radical abolitionists . . . showed little concern about the evil conditions under which free laborers had to work in many Northern cities." In subsequent paragraphs, and longer ones at that, the authors offer the pro-slavery arguments. They do not find it necessary or appropriate to inject counter-statements as they did with the "radical" abolitionists. Furthermore, one finds it disturbing to see how the authors employ expressions such as "radical" and "propaganda" which serve only to place a cloud on the antislavery people's arguments.

Even the attempts to control writing and speaking against slavery fail to bother these authors. After de-

scribing the notorious "gag rule," which Southerners passed in Congress and which John Quincy Adams ultimately killed eight years later, the worst that the authors could say about the rule was that "because it seemed unconstitutional, the gag rule boomeranged. Instead of hurting the abolitionists, it had made them seem martyrs in the cause of civil liberties." As if, indeed, they were not.

As a matter of fact, twice the amount of space is given to the pro-Southern slavery argument than that given to the abolitionist argument.

An unusually lengthy treatment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 is offered in this text in a section dealing with the reasons for the widening split between the North and the South. The authors assure the reader, however, that ". . . most Northerners obeyed the law . . . " and that " . . . only a tiny percentage of slaves succeeded in escaping from their masters." The law is also stated to have "stimulated the writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." It is contended that, " . . . in her effort to show the sinfulness of slavery, [Harriet Beecher Stowe]stressed extreme, rather than typical, conditions in the South. Southerners pointed out that she had no understanding of life on a plantation."

In a section dealing with different opinions about the causes of the "war between the states," the authors include the opinion of "more and more Northerners and some Southerners . . . that slavery was a moral evil and had to go." The text's presentation of the Southern response to the moral question is worth quoting in full: "Aren't our slaves much better off than your so-called free workers in the filthy factories of the North? One Southern writer suggested that the so-called free laborers of the North would be better off if the North turned them into slaves."

The chapter on the Civil War itself mentions the Negro only once, in reference to the New York draft riots, a topic mentioned in no other text included in our study. "Negroes were hanged from lamp posts and fires set under their feet."

Coming to the period after the war, the Reconstruction era, the authors discuss the condition of the Freedmen. A statement such as, "Some thought that now that they were free, life was going to be one long spree, without work," is at best gratuitous and at worst unsupportable. But it remains consistent with much of the tone of this text's treatment of the Negro.

Under the heading, "Some Reasons Why the Radical Republicans Insisted on a Tough Reconstruction Program," two reasons are given and they are balanced in that one motivation is described as strictly for selfish political purposes, and the other as in the interest of the freed slaves.

Of course, Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens are pictured as the villains representing "the extreme radical point of view on Reconstruction." What is worse, the authors observe that Stevens " . . . seemed to love Negroes as much as he hated slaveowners." Without further elaboration, the statement raises suspicions about the text's view of that.

It is related that Northerners "boiled with anger" about the Black Codes which the South passed in 1865. These were notorious restraints on the personal, economic, and political liberties of the Negro. Among other things, Negroes could be forced to work for white employers if they could not pay the fines imposed upon them if accused of being without a job. The authors offer us the Southern defense of this. "What is wrong with helping these bewildered, wandering, illiterate, and proverty-stricken ex-slaves to settle down to a job?"

A fairly sympathetic account of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau is presented, although the concluding statements note that some of the agents "were far from idealistic" and that "some used the bureau's funds to enrich themselves. And some brought pressure on Negroes to vote Republican." There are always "some" people who betray their trust in public and private activities, and the statements here are gratuitous, serving only to raise doubts in the minds of the students about what was for the very most part an admirable program.

The Civil Rights Amendments are in one instance de-

scribed as punishment for the South. "The 14th Amendment also punished the South . . . " A statement like this also unnecessarily raises doubts in a student's mind about another wholly admirable piece of legislation.

Not surprisingly, the Reconstruction governments are referred to throughout the discussion as "Carpetbagger governments." This also serves to prejudice the student. The opening passage in this topic describes "a governor" who saved a half-million dollars on an $8,000 salary after four years. "When criticized, he answered: 'Corruption is the fashion. I do not pretend to be honest.' This governor was not the only dishonest politician in the Southern state governments set up as a result of the Reconstruction Acts." The implication of this observation of the authors is that dishonest politicians were an exclusive characteristic of the Reconstruction governments.

There is some material which acknowledges the need for balance. "Some attempts of some carpetbagger governments to do good" is acknowledged by the authors. The emphasis is on "some," but at least it is there. Indeed, an admirable statement follows, when it is noted that " . . . not all the Negro legislators [not just "some"?] were puppets of scheming carpetbaggers and scalawags. Some [there it is again!] of them were educated men who wanted to do all they could for Negroes and whites alike, and for their state and nation." But the authors do conclude that, "In spite of these achievements, the period of carpetbagger governments was a most disgraceful period in American history. Indeed, as we shall see, there was, during this same period, plenty of disgraceful waste and corruption in the national government and in Northern states as well."

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan as a Southern response to the Reconstruction governments is presented in the "traditional" way among most texts. That is, it is implied that the moderate whites had no other recourse. Only when the violence got out of hand and the "moderate" Southerners abandoned it did it seem proper to condemn the Klan and trace its downfall.

Except for two brief references to the participation of Negroes in education programs (segregated) as examples of their "progress", almost 400 pages of text pass before the Negro is brought back into the history of the United States. This is marked in a section entitled, "Race Relations Make Headlines." It consists of a series of short summaries which serve as "a few examples of developments in race relations during and after World War II that stirred strong emotions . . . " Following this is a long passage dealing with the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Without a trace of judgment, the authors present a straightforward account of the case.

The next paragraph is the last reference to the Negro. It is an explanation for the changes in race relations. It is worth quoting in full to demonstrate the almost insipid as well as inadequate treatment the Negro gets in this text. "Some Explanations for the Changes in Race Relations. Following both World War I and World War II, millions of Negroes moved to Northern cities. As voters and officeholders there, they were able to wield great political influence. Many Negroes joined organizations whose main purpose was to obtain for Negroes "equal protection of the laws" in all respects. As more and more Negroes got a better education and improved their economic status in both North and South, they demanded an end to all discrimination. Many whites, many of them influential, supported their cause."

Since the authors of the text are New York City teachers, it probably has wide use in the city. What is more, it probably has wide use in the South. Among high school texts, this gives one of the poorest treatments of the Negro encountered in our study. It barely scratches the surface of any topic, and practically ignores all achievements and contributions of the Negro.

This Is America's Story

junior high school text
Howard B. Wilder
Robert P. Ludlum
Harriet McCune Brown
Houghton Mifflin Company
Boston
1966

Among the three authors of this text, only one appears to have academic background beyond secondary school teaching. Robert P. Ludlum formerly taught history at Texas A & M University and at Hofstra University in New York. In any case, Dr. Ludlum is now President of a small midwestern college. Thus, he is not a historian who has any wealth of background in the writing of history. The other two authors include Howard B. Wilder, a teacher in a Massachusetts high school, and Harriet McCune Brown, a junior high school teacher.

This is one of the older texts included in our survey. While the edition surveyed here was published in 1966, the first edition appeared in 1948. As a third edition, the text indicates widespread acceptance.

Negroes make their initial appearance after 88 pages of text by way of the traditional arrival in Jamestown in 1619 as "indentured servants." The next reference indicates that the need for more and more plantation workers (and for workers who would not be entitled to their freedom after only a few years of work) led Southerners to prefer Negro slavery after 1700. The fact that many of the slaves were skilled trades-people is pointed out. The authors do indicate that not "all Negroes were taught trades." Furthermore, it is made clear that the slaves were "often brutally treated by white overseers. Slavery itself was debasing for both slaves and master." This last observation is a highly commendable one.

The Revolutionary War is touched upon only to note the fate of Crispus Attucks and that there were 5,000 Negro troops fighting for and with the Americans.

A fairly well-balanced discussion of the life of the slaves follows. "The slaves naturally were not willing workers, and they showed this in various ways. Most slaves simply did not work any harder than they had to. Many slaves tried to escape. Occasionally slaves would rise in rebellion and use violence against their masters." This is a pretty fair presentation, but one would like to see more details and examples of these points. It is important for students not to get the notion that the Negroes were docile and willingly accepted their lot.

There is a brief discussion of the North's attitude toward slavery. It conveys the view that Negroes were not given their freedom because Northerners had any moral conscience about their status, but simply because slaves were not useful on small Northern farms.

The doubts Southerners had about slavery in the 1700s are discussed. At that point, the authors state, it was even uneconomical for the Southerners to maintain slaves. Even the moral question was considered by Southerners. The doubts held by Washington, Henry, and Jefferson are indicated. Slavery's inconsistency with the Declaration of Independence is considered. This point is overlooked in most of the texts.

However, it is pointed out that the financial investment of the Southerners in their slaves, as well as the invention of the cotton gin, removed doubts about the institution, and slavery was firmly established in the South from the date of that invention in 1793.

As Northern abolitionists began to criticize slavery, Southerners began vigorously to defend it. An account of the arguments offered by the South defending the institution is then presented. John C. Calhoun's "historical" justification is quoted. Finally, the Southern argument "that slavery was a benefit to the Negro" is recited. It was contended that Negroes were better taken care of as slaves than the Northern free factory worker. This argument is commonly presented in the texts.

There is a discussion of the limited opportunities Negroes had to go to school. The rarely-found names of John B. Russworm and Jonathan Gibbs, the first Negro graduates of Bowdoin (1826) and Dartmouth (1853) respectively, are introduced here as examples of the very limited success some Negroes had. The authors relate that, "A few American Negroes went abroad to Europe for their college and professional education." Of course it is not revealed that most of these men were sons of white plantation owners who had impregnated their Negro mistresses and, in some cases, assumed in this way some responsibility for their children. Most, however, probably stayed on the plantation as mulatto slave hands of unknown origin.

Leading up to the Civil War (always described as the "war between the states" for the Southern market), the authors, like so many other text writers, contend *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was "hardly a fair picture of conditions throughout the South." But it did influence "Northerners against slavery as nothing else had."

The Underground Railroad is given a hurried account as a further example of the "inflamed feeling between the North and the South." No indication is made that this was more an example of the desire for freedom by the Negroes themselves than it was a contributing cause to the outbreak of hostilities between North and South.

The authors state that one of the reasons the North and South fought the Civil War was to put an end to slavery (Northerners) or to preserve it (Southerners).

The only other reference to the Negro in the Civil War is the fact that, "some 180,000 Negro combat and non-combatant troops had joined the Union forces."

The treatment of the Reconstruction era is rather brief and somewhat weighted in favor of the old anti-Radical Republican, poor maligned Southern whites view. The authors do, nevertheless, state incidentally that, "The new state constitutions and laws contained many admirable provisions . . . Many of these reforms have been retained to the present day."

On the other hand, the description of the Southern response to the Reconstruction governments in the form of the violence of the Ku Klux Klan is ambivalent when it suggests that the South had no choice since "there seemed no way for the Southern whites to get relief from the Reconstruction governments."

Without expressing or implying a value judgment, the authors conclude the section with a paragraph describing Southern laws which were "all used to deprive the Negro of the right to vote."

More than 100 pages of textual material pass before the Negro is mentioned again. The question raised is, "What important social changes have come about in recent years?" A rather complete discussion of the migration of Negroes to Northern states follows this question. The need for Negro labor in the North during both World Wars I and II is of course the primary reason for this movement. But the authors go on to point out that, "The movement of Negroes to Northern cities was part of an effort to improve themselves. We must remember that the road of the Negro in this country has not been easy. Even though their freedom and citizenship were guaranteed after the war between the North and the South, most Negroes were very poor. They had little or no education and found it difficult to get good jobs and adequate housing. But American Negroes have achieved wonders against great odds." Further on, the text gives the names and achievements of a varied group of Negroes. Accompanying this are reproductions of postage stamps honoring Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver. Fortunately, more interesting and current personalities are pictured elsewhere, including people such as Mrs. Patricia Harris (Ambassador to Luxembourg), Dr. Charles R. Drew, and Thurgood Marshall.

After another 100 pages of text, the Negro comes in again for attention in a short summary paragraph-feature, "integration on the battlefield." The rarely-made observation that, "Although often denied their rights, Negroes have fought for the cause of freedom in all of this country's wars" is made. It then makes brief mention of Negro participation in all of America's wars. For junior high school students this kind of in-

formation is impressive and builds positive feelings about the Negro.

Beginning with a very brief discussion of the 1954 school segregation case of the Supreme Court, the text gets into the civil rights movement. While limited to two pages, it is a fairly good survey touching upon specific events and people, including value judgments as reflected in the topical heading, "Injustices to Negroes are widespread."

A photograph showing Martin Luther King leading the march in Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1963 concludes the text's references to the Negro.

While readers of this study should make their own evaluation by reading the text, it is this writer's judgment that this represents one of the most "average" treatments of our subject; that is, it has about an equal number of strengths and weaknesses. Nevertheless, the weaknesses are critical enough to warrant saying that this is far from the kind of textbook this writer would want to use to teach about the Negro in American history.

The Adventure of the American People

senior high school text
Henry F. Graff
John A. Krout
Rand McNally & Company
Chicago
1965

Both authors of this text, Henry F. Graff and John A. Krout, are distinguished historians who are on the faculty of Columbia University.

The first mention of Negroes is in connection with a passage dealing with the leaders of the Virginia Company. According to the authors, one of the directors of the Company was said to have owned the ship the *Treasurer,* "which brought possibly some of the first Negroes to Virginia and prepared the way for the establishment of slavery in English America."

The next reference to the Negro is in connection with a rather interesting discussion of the effect the Revolution had on slavery. Few texts deal with the philosophical inconsistency of the Revolution with slavery. On the other hand, this text fails to make any other reference to the Negro during the Revolutionary period. Not even Crispus Attucks gets his "traditional" recognition. "In the melee five Bostonians were killed, and others were injured."

Invisibility is the fate of the Negro for another 150 pages, until the text comes to a section dealing with the criticism of slavery in the Revolutionary War. Here we have a history of slavery in the South, beginning with the statement that, "The most formative event in the history of the South was the establishment of Negro slavery." Then follows a clear statement that the first group of Negroes arrived in 1619 "to work as inden-

tured servants." Since, however, the Negro proved "to be such a satisfactory solution to the labor problem . . . [he] was not freed at the end of [his] term of service. Thus [the Negroes] became slaves . . ."

The authors then offer one of the most detailed and graphic accounts of the slave trade, including its horrors.

There then follows an excellent discussion of manumission. This expression, "manumission," is rarely dealt with in the texts. The apprehensions of Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and Washington about slavery are described. An interesting quotation from Jefferson is given here: "I cannot justify it . . . I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever." The opposition of religious groups is indicated.

However, the authors point out that as long as economic reasons supported the religious and humanitarian argument that slavery was evil, there was hope for its abolishment in the South.

As in most of the texts, the failure of the American Colonization Society to transport Negroes back to Africa as a "solution" to the slavery problem is attributed only to the "impracticality" of the scheme. No text writer points out the opposition of most Negroes themselves to being removed from their homeland.

A very detailed and extensive account of the free Negroes is offered at this point. Their activities ranged from domestic servants to skilled craftsmen. "There was a handful of exceptional free Negroes who were able to achieve recognition for their attainments in the arts and in business despite their obvious handicaps." John Chavis, a Negro educator during this early period, is cited. His name appears in no other text. A fair statement then follows, "But in general the life of the free Negro was a hard one, and they lived in fear of being kidnapped and sold into slavery again."

The tone of the discussion dealing with the "slave's lot" is established by the opening comment that, "It is a mistake to believe that 'the peculiar institution' . . . was a uniform system. A world of difference, for example, separated the experienced house servant, who often had great responsibilities, from the recently arrived field hand, who perhaps was forced to do his job by a whipping."

In other words, the variation of the system is emphasized. While the "kinder" aspects of the system are recognized, the authors deal fully with the whippings which represented the essence of slavery--discipline. "Indeed, slave agriculture has been called 'military agriculture.'"

Only Nat Turner's rebellion is discussed, leaving out any reference to the many such insurrections which reflected Negro discontent.

The Black Codes, which were the consequence of these insurrections, are described without any moral judgment by the authors. Like most text writers, however, they point out that, "'Many of these slave-code provisions were, of course, neglected in practice." The implication of so many of the texts seems to be that these were just paper statutes having no real impact on the Negroes' movements. This is not the fact at all. The codes were enforced to a sufficient degree to have a great influence on the development of the Negro in America.

A quick summary of the Underground Railroad is given with few details. Not even Harriet Tubman is mentioned, let alone the participation of Negroes themselves in this struggle for their own freedom.

The arguments in defense of the slavery system are given an extensive and intensive presentation. Thomas Dew, William Harper, John C. Calhoun, and George Fitzhugh are all given their say, each in a separate passage. At the same time, other Southerners, such as James G. Birney, the Grimke sisters, and Hinton R. Helper, who protested slavery are also represented.

An important point is made to students when the authors conclude the topic with the observation that, "in defending slavery, Southerners were also closing the door to useful social improvements and innovations."

Following this, there is a discussion of the social and economic effects of slavery on various groups, *viz.*, the planter ("profitable arrangement"), free labor ("immigration labor shunned the South"), the slave ("was probably bitterly resented").

In the section "Uneasy Calm," the Fugitive Slave Law's influence in arousing moderate Northerners into becoming active abolitionists is described. The case of Anthony Burns is briefly noted in this connection.

Uncle Tom's Cabin receives a balanced discussion. The authors state that it, "made many Americans look carefully at the problem of slavery for the first time and attempt to square human bondage with their conscience."

There is no reference at all to the Negro's participation in the chapter dealing with the Civil War.

The account of the Reconstruction period is fairly well balanced. After dealing with the motives of the Radicals, the authors draw this conclusion: "Sorting out the motives of men is a fascinating undertaking, but the answers are uncertain. The South considered the Radicals to be madmen taking pleasure in tormenting their defeated brethren; Northerners friendly to the Radicals considered them heroic defenders of the true principles in the Declaration of Independence."

While the Freedmen's Bureau is given a sympathetic account for the good things it achieved for the Negro, the Southern opposition to it is indicated.

The motives of scalawags and carpetbaggers are decribed by the authors as "mixed" and both the good and bad motivations are described.

There is a full account of the Negroes in the Reconstruction governments. There is a lengthy and detailed "explanation" for the graft and corruption. A fair statement of the achievements of these governments is presented. "The Radical governments made some permanent improvements in the South: County governments were overhauled; court procedures were reformed; new schools, roads, and railroads were built; and taxes were more democratically levied."

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan to fight the Reconstruction governments is explained in the usual text presentation that the moderate white Southerners had no other way to oppose these governments "because federal military power was very strong."

After concluding the chapter on the Reconstruction, more than 300 pages of textual material passes before the Negro is mentioned again. This leaves out consideration of the Negro in the industrialization of America and World Wars I and II.

Negroes are reintroduced at the point of the Eisenhower Administration, beginning with the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. A short paragraph discussing the Civil Rights Act of 1957 follows.

After another 84 pages of silence regarding the Negro, the struggle over Civil Rights is brought up again. Here we have two pages of a superficial survey of some of the events connected with this struggle. It is in no way equal to the treatment of other topics concerning the Negro which are dealt with in this text. On the other hand, so much is left out that one must almost be grateful for what we have of this particular topic!

In the Preface, the text professes that it aims to "inspire as well as to instruct" and that since "history starts with the lives of individuals" it has laid "unusual emphasis on *people*." (Emphasis theirs.) As far as its treatment of the Negro is concerned, this text falls far short of such a goal. Few texts in this study mention so few Negroes and leave out so many topics. It must, however, be said that quite a few of the topics it does treat are done well and in a few cases better than other texts.

Our American Republic

senior high school text
Arthur S. Link
David S. Muzzey
Ginn & Company
Boston
1966

The late David S. Muzzey, one of the two authors of this text, has influenced more secondary school students than any other text-writer. Through the years his texts have been used by more than 30 million students. He was a well-known and controversial historian in his time. The other author, Arthur S. Link, is Edwards Professor of American History and Editor of the projected 40-volume Papers of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton University.

The Negro first appears in this text almost incidentally in a section dealing with Jamestown. " . . . In the same year [1619 when the House of Burgesses was established] . . . a Dutch vessel from the West Indies landed some 20 Negroes in the Colony, to be indentured servants. Their descendants later became slaves."

The next reference is in a chapter dealing with the social and cultural backgrounds of the colonists in early America. In a section discussing social classes, the authors write that, " . . . at the bottom of the social scale were the Negro slaves, who were bought and sold like cattle." It is pointed out that during this early period "there were few voices condemning it [slavery] as a moral evil."

Except for the usual recognition of Crispus Attucks in the Boston Massacre, there is no further reference to the Negro during the Revolutionary War period.

More than 200 pages pass without reference to the Negro before the text comes to a section describing the plantation and the "peculiar institution." As explanation for slavery's existence in the South, the authors observe that you must talk "about the soil and weather of the South." Since these factors were suited for crops which were to be grown on a large scale, many workers were needed to till the fields. The indentured servant system was too costly and unsatisfactory. "The best solution [from the planter's point of view] came with the importation of African Negroes."

Coming next to the lot of the slave under the system, this text offers four generalizations which strike this writer as the most balanced and perceptive among those offered in the texts included in this study. They are worth quoting here in full "(1) Slaves constituted the chief wealth or investment of all planters. With proper medical care, abundant food, and adequate clothing and shelter, this investment would not only return good dividends but would also increase in value as more slaves were born. Most planters tried to provide decent care for their slaves, and many were also humane. (2) Slavery gave almost absolute power to the masters. Even the best of masters were not always kind and considerate, and there were, inevitably, many cruel masters. (3) In spite of everything that the humane masters did, slavery was degrading to the slave because it prevented him from ever becoming a responsible human being, with integrity and personality of his own. (4) In giving the master unlimited dominion over a human being, it also tended to degrade the master." Rarely are students offered the insights reflected in this account.

Following this is a paragraph discussing the Southern Negroes' own "social ladder." This is a description of the class structure among the Southern Negroes themselves. There are brief references to the free Negroes, the slaves who were servants of town dwellers and house servants on plantations, those who were artisans, nurses, cowherds, and farmers, and, finally, "the vast majority who were simply agricultural workers."

The reference to slave uprisings is short and is employed to explain why "white Southerners lived in dread and terror at times of an uprising by the slaves," there-

by evidencing the Negroes' discontent with their slave status.

An admirable feature, "Focus," consists of a quote from Thoreau on Civil Disobedience. The introductory authors' note points out that here is "the doctrine which inspired resistance movements by such modern day abolitionists as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr."

Coming to the next section, dealing with the sectional unrest of the early 1850s, the authors stress that, "The chief cause of the mounting sectional hostility was the simple fact that a large and growing body of Northerners were becoming convinced that slavery was morally and politically wrong and should be limited or abolished. White Southerners, on the other hand, were growing more and more convinced that the preservation of slavery was essential to their way of life." This text distinguishes itself here and in other connections by emphasizing the moral issue of slavery more than any other text in this study.

Continuing with the account of the Northern abolitionist movement, the authors observe that when slavery increased in the South and Southwest after 1830, "a group of New England reformers, whose moral consciences had awakened to a number of social problems," felt that slavery was "so radically *wrong* that only a radical remedy---immediate abolition by any means---would solve the problem."

This text goes on to make the unparalleled statement (among the texts) that, "Many Negroes, including Frederick Douglass, were active in the antislavery movement." William Lloyd Garrison is given a brief but sympathetic account. This text distinguishes itself on still another point. It treats the antislavery movement in the West at the same length and attention to detail as that in New England, to which all the other texts restrict themselves.

Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act is given a full account, including a feature giving excerpts from the Act itself.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is described as a novel which " . . . pictured the inhuman cruelties practiced by a heartless overseer . . . (and) had a powerful emotional effect upon the public." This seems like an exceptionally well-balanced presentation.

Discussing the reasons for the Civil War, the authors again point out that, "the moral conscience of the North was aroused against slavery."

There is, however, no mention at all of the Negroes' participation in the Civil War itself, and that chapter passes over the Negroes except, of course, for the usual passages dealing with the Emancipation Proclamation.

Another wholly admirable "Focus" feature is "The Freedmen Call for Help." This consists of a long quote from a Negro convention statement calling for "possession of the ballot" and "an equal chance." The quotation also includes a tracing of the Negroes' contribution to the war itself, " . . . you appealed to us for help, and how well we answered is written in the rosters of the 200,000 colored troops now enrolled in your service . . . " This is a marvelous document for the students to read. It goes on to state: "Well, the war is over, the rebellion is 'put down' and we are declared free! Four-fifths of our enemies are paroled or amnestied, and the other one-fifth are being pardoned, and the President has . . . left us entirely at the mercy of these subjugated but unconverted rebels, in everything save the privilege to bring us, our wives and little ones, to the auction block . . . " No historian, least of all secondary school text-writers, could give us a more touching and graphic description of the Negroes' situation at the end of the war. Nor a more truthful one.

While the work of the Freedmen's Bureau is described in a very brief passage, it is a splendid account. This is primarily because the description does not take the edge off the Bureau's contribution to the Negroes' welfare by describing the Southern complaints against it and thereby leaving the contribution of the Bureau questionable in the minds of the students.

The Reconstruction governments are dealt with rather fully and with balance. Beginning with the observation that, "it is not easy to characterize the Reconstruction

governments in the Southern states because they varied so greatly in complexion and character," the authors proceed to present the topic with proper perspective. Several generalizations are offered which reflect the historical scholarship which prevails in this text. A final paragraph in this section describes the "record of constructive work" of these governments.

Surprisingly, the discussion of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan as the Southern reaction to the Reconstruction governments is no better than those criticized in most of the other texts. No moral point is made of the matter here. The authors note that, "It was perhaps asking too much of human nature to expect most white Southerners to approve or even accept the social revolution that seemed to accompany radical reconstruction." No, it does not seem "to be asking too much" of any group in America to work within law and order, whether moderate Southerners or not. These authors imply some measure of "understanding" for the creation of a Ku Klux Klan. Mean it or not, this is at least what many students will infer.

After the close of the Reconstruction, the references to Negroes are few and brief. The exclusion of "the Negro from politics and much of the economic and social life of the South" is acknowleged. A statement that in 1900 "there were nearly nine million Negroes, the vast majority of whom lived in the South," appears in a section discussing where Americans lived at the beginning of the 20th century. The single reference to the Negro in World War I is in a passage concerning the aftermath of the war and one of the reactions that, "Many whites who had witnessed Negroes going off to war were determined to see to it that there was no change in their position at home."

After another 150 pages of silence there appears a passage dealing with the population pattern in the United States in the middle of this century, and the northward movement of Negroes is described. "This migration would in the long run have perhaps the greatest social implications of all the internal population movements of the period." But the implications are not considered.

It is a surprising disappointment for this writer to note that the material dealing with the civil rights movement in this text ranks among the most inadequate of all texts studied. This statement is in marked contrast to so many occasions in this analysis when he could state that this text was much superior to many of the others and, in some cases, to any of the others. It is difficult to determine why, on this subject, the present text fails so badly. The account offered is brief and superficial. It simply doesn't measure up to much of what was offered up to this point.

Among the high school texts, to be sure, this text has, overall, one of the shortest allotments of space to the Negro. Yet, because so much of what it does cover is done so well and in some cases "exclusively," it would not be difficult to rate this text among the very best in the group. However, the inadequate presentation of the civil rights movement, as well as the unusually low number of references to Negro personalities and achievements, leads the writer to rate it among the poorest in terms of its full treatment of the Negro.

The Rise of the American Nation

senior high school text
Lewis Paul Todd
Merle Curti
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
New York
1966

Merle Curti, one of the two authors of this text, is an eminent historian holding the Frederick Jackson Turner chair in American history at the University of Wisconsin. Lewis Paul Todd, the second author, has been both a secondary school and college teacher of American history. The text is reputed to be the largest-selling high school American history book in the country. Given this wide popularity, we can be thankful that, while it has its weaknesses in the area of the Negro, its strengths are far greater and the text must be ranked as the most satisfactory among the high school volumes included in our survey. But it must be emphasized that there are disappointments.

At the outset, the introduction of the Negro in this text distinguishes itself from all others in that it goes beyond stating that the Negroes who arrived in Jamestown in 1619 were not slaves. The authors go on to establish a climate of a positive image of the Negro. Not only were they not slaves, but they are compared and *likened* to the " . . . thousands of men and women from Europe [who] worked as servants for a period of years to pay for their transportation. Once they had repaid the debt, they settled on their own land and worked for themselves. By the 1640s, however, Africans were being brought to the British colonies as slaves."

Going back, at a later point, there is presented a unique account of the African background of the American Negro in terms of the high degree of civilization from which he originated. "Long before the New World was discovered, a number of African societies---among them the West African kingdoms, or empires, of Ghana, Melle, and Songhay---had attained a high degree of civilization." It is unfortunate that more than 200 pages pass without any references to the Negro before this excellent presentation of the background is offered. This includes passing over the Negro through the entire Revolutionary War period, other than use of a photograph of the monument honoring the five colonists killed in the Boston Massacre. The caption reads, " . . . One, killed instantly, was Crispus Attucks, Negro patriot."

After the account of the African background, there is a full and fairly balanced discussion of the work slaves did. The authors first give a good image of the slaves as people by describing them in their skilled activities rather than the mere field labor which is usually emphasized. Speaking of those skilled workers among the slaves, it is observed that, "Some were able not only to build a house, but also to make the necessary plans, draw up contracts, and complete the entire structure." However, we are reminded that, "the great majority of the slaves . . . were laborers who did the hard work in the fields."

This is followed by a brief treatment of the usually neglected free Negroes. A reference to "a slave uprising in Virginia in 1831" is left unidentified and is the only reference to the important topic of slave uprisings. The reference here is to bring out the fact that as a consequence of this uprising " . . . the movements and privileges of free Negroes" were restricted. The fact that, "these laws were not rigidly enforced" implies that they were not a serious matter---which, indeed, they were.

The treatment of the slaves is slightly weighted on the side of softening the facts of brutality and debasement. "To protect his investment, therefore, the planter was apt to keep his slaves adequately fed, clothed and housed." This overstates the case.

There is a full discussion about the profitability or nonprofitability of slave labor. The arguments of George Tucker and Hinton Rowan Helper are considered. The conclusion of the authors is vague as it states that it

was profitable for some at some times and not so for others at any time.

Notwithstanding the economic argument, there was a pro-slavery argument which prevailed in the South, holding that, "the institution of slavery was of positive value to the slaves themselves." The "secure life of the slave with the uncertain lot of white wage earners in the mills, factories, and mines of the North and Europe" was contrasted. At the end of this discussion the authors point out that, "white Southerners . . . accepted the leadership of the great plantation owners and the institution of slavery itself . . . any criticism of slavery, or any efforts to restrict it, they regarded as hostile to their homes, their land, and their way of life."

Under the heading, "A Strong Movement Developes to Abolish Slavery," this text gives one of the lengthiest treatments of the antislavery movement. But while it is extensive, it is hardly intensive enough to be considered impressive.

First, there is a short review of the early efforts to abolish slavery in the colonial period. The work of Benjamin Franklin and John Woolman is described. The argument of the Declaration of Independence is cited. Southern sentiment against slavery during these years is described. While Jefferson is credited with the philosophy of "all men are created equal," he is criticized for being slow about acting on his beliefs. It is pointed out that while slavery in the South no longer seemed profitable the chances for abolishment seemed possible. But with the invention of the cotton gin, the problem of slavery was altered and the demand for increasing it outdistanced the sentiment for abolishing it.

However, the renewed value of slavery did not stop the abolitionist movement. A discussion of the work of the American Colonization Society follows the line of most texts by implying that the failure of this project was due to its impracticality rather than to the Negroes' refusal to accept the idea.

The militant movement of the '30s is then almost superficially considered. A number of leading abolitionists are mentioned, but their work is not considered in any depth. Only one Negro abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, is mentioned, let alone considered at length. The Negro abolitionists are overlooked in all texts.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is briefly dismissed in a tone consistent with the attitude of the authors about the lot of the slaves. The novel is described as a "melodramatic novel about slavery [which] inflamed the emotions of many people in the North, who failed to recognize its distortions."

A short account of the Underground Railroad follows, and Harriet Tubman is given considerable attention both in the textual material as well as in a feature story.

The violent opposition in the North to the abolitionists is discussed. Indeed, the mob violence against William Lloyd Garrison in the North prompted him to say that, "contempt more bitter, opposition more stubborn, and apathy more frozen in New England than in the South" confronted him. This can be compared to Martin Luther King's recent statement that he found greater hate in Chicago than in the South.

There are but two references to the Negroes during the Civil War. One, the usual statement that 180,000 Negroes served in the Union forces. The second, an unusual "special feature" on the 54th Regiment, describing the herosim of this Negro regiment in the Battle of Fort Wagner.

Following the end of the war, the orthodox description of the condition of the freed slaves is given. There is no indication of who is responsible for their condition.

The discussion of the Freedmen's Bureau is full and fairly balanced, but it is questionable whether the observation that "many" Negroes refused to work while waiting for the government to come through with the allegedly promised "40 acres and a mule" is accurate.

After describing the outrageous prohibitions imposed upon the Negroes by Southern white governments, ranging from the hours they could appear in the streets ("until sunset") to qualifications for entering business,

the authors offer the Southern argument that they were not forcing the Negro back to slavery because they were allowed to act as witnesses in court cases involving their own race. Perhaps the authors left the point without comment because it did not deserve any. Yet student-readers might have needed guidance here.

The Reconstruction governments are given the modern historical interpretation in this text. In other words, a well-balanced description showing both the good and bad points is offered. Negroes who participated in these governments are given sympathetic recognition. "Some of the Negroes who held office were generally well-qualified. This group included Negroes who had been educated while they were still slaves or who had lived in the South as free men before the war." Still, the authors note that "*Most* of the freedmen" were not qualified and served poorly. Just how the proportions really stand is at least a question, and it does not seem to be appropriate for the authors here to resolve it the way they did.

The corruption of these Reconstruction governments is not overlooked, but the authors do go on to say that, "It is important to note, however, that graft and corruption were not confined to carpetbag governments in the South." Elsewhere it is observed that the Southern legislatures "were able to push forward a number of constructive developments."

The Southern response to the Reconstruction governments and the freedom of the Negroes comes in the shape of the "terror and intimidation" of the Ku Klux Klan. Like a number of other texts, this one finds no quarrel with the Klan while it is controlled by "moderate" men. Only when brutality reigns, rather than simple warnings in the night, do the authorities take a stronger view of the Klan. The authors here at no point take any view of their own.

In a section dealing with the development of the "New South" there is a good summary account of the pattern of segregation which was beginning to take shape. The authors impressively sum up this development by charging that, "Northerners who on the whole had lost interest in the Negro cause, did not raise any serious protests against these developments. In fact as the years passed, Negroes in Northern cities also faced increasing discrimination, particularly in employment and housing."

On the same page appear two excellent photos of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, with lengthy captions describing their respective "philosophies."

This same section gives a full account of the disfranchisement of the Negroes which took place during the period.

After more than 150 pages dealing with the West, American industrial society, and World War I, the Negro finally appears in an interesting but hardly significant colored lithograph showing Negro troops rescuing American Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War.

There is an impressive discussion of the new problems encountered by the Negroes as a result of the growth of industry during World War I and the 1920s. While the opportunities of jobs in the North are described, the problem of the lack of equality of opportunity is considered. "They got the hardest jobs and the lowest pay in the mines, mills, and factories."

There follows a discussion of the new opportunities for Negroes during this period. The number of individual Negroes who achieved success is of course cited. The authors further note that while there were achievements by individuals, " . . . in 1930 many doors of opportunity still remained closed to Negroes . . . the postwar advances, limited though they were, demonstrated what American Negroes could accomplish if they had the opportunity."

A photograph showing a Negro registered nurse accompanies this passage with the caption that, "Professionalism and social consciousness, as in the case of this trained and registered nurse, marked the careers of more and more Negroes."

After another some 150 pages, the Negro comes back

into the story of America in a section, "Negro Civil Rights Becomes an Urgent Issue." This is, in any case, the longest and most detailed account of the modern civil rights movement which appears among the texts included in our study. It is the years in between that we miss.

First, there is a review of the roots of the problem with a summary discussion of the way the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments had been violated by the South since Reconstruction. "As a result of these developments American Negroes entered the 1900s handicapped by problems they had not anticipated during the first hopeful years of freedom."

Postwar advances are discussed in a series of paragraphs dealing with voting, education, public facilities, housing, and employment. Each topic is given detailed treatment. The March on Washington and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are given individual treatment in separate paragraphs.

The authors manage to handle all this without any indication of how any of these things square with American ideals. The facts are to speak for themselves. It is a great disappointment to find this text without any point of view, but it does make the market for the book a wide one. There seems no doubt about the authors' personal sympathies. When these sympathies are in line with the kinds of ideals which are supposed to be instilled in American history classes, there is no reason why writers and teachers should not forthrightly expose such sympathies to students.

United States History

senior high school text
Ruth W. Gavian
William A. Hamm
Revised by
Frank Freidel
D.C. Heath and Company
Boston
1965

The first edition of this text, published in 1960, listed the two authors, Ruth W. Gavian and William A. Hamm. The present edition includes Frank Freidel as the revisor. The original authors are secondary school specialists. Professor Freidel is a distinguished professional historian.

A comparison of the two editions in terms of their treatment of the Negro evidences practically no alterations. It contains only additional material bringing the current civil rights movement up to date.

The Negro is introduced in traditional fashion with the arrival in 1619 in Virginia. The scholarship is also something less than current in that the distinction of the status of this first group of Negroes in English America is indicated as slave, rather than indentured servant.

There are a few references to the Negro in the first few hundred pages of this text before coming to the antislavery movement of the 1830s. Most of these are in connection with the attitudes toward slavery during the Revolutionary period and shortly thereafter. "In the late 1700s there was a growing belief that slavery was wrong." It is pointed out that Philadelphia Quakers organized the first antislavery society in the world. Jefferson "tried to include in the Declaration of Independence a statement that slavery was a violation of the 'most sacred rights of life and liberty'" In a later section it is stated that during this revolutionary period

"many Americans in both the North and the South had opposed slavery." But then the expansion of cotton growing created such a demand for slave labor that the South could no longer oppose the institution. "Most Southerners came to regard slavery as necessary to their prosperity. Instead of apologizing for the slave system they argued that it was a good thing for both whites and Negroes. In time they refused to listen to anyone with a different opinion of their 'peculiar institution.'"

The Negro in American history is picked up again when the text returns to a full discussion of the antislavery cause of the 1830s. The student must be left with the impression that the Negro had no part in American life other than to work as a plantation slave. He did not participate in the American Revolution, there were no literary figures, no free Negroes with skills and trades. Even at the point where he is referred to, it is only in connection with his slave status, the struggle for his freedom.

There is a brief but interesting review of the earlier movements to free slaves in the South. A number of the Founding Fathers from the South are cited as looking to eventual emancipation.

It is then pointed out that when slaves were freed "white people objected to having free Negroes in their communities. This feeling was as strong in the North as in the South." The attempt in 1817 to colonize the Negroes in Africa was largely supported by Southerners. The failure of this plan is attributed by the authors of this text to the fact that many of the Negroes "died of tropical diseases." Actually, however, the Negroes in America opposed the plan and only a handful embraced it. In any case, the Southerners lost interest as cotton became a leading crop and they needed all the slaves they could get.

However, while sentiment for emancipation lost ground in the South, it was growing stronger in the North. Pointing out that before 1830 the antislavery people were moderate men seeking only gradual emancipation, the authors relate that, "After 1830 more militant leaders came to the fore." Garrison is introduced as the best-known abolitionist in these words, "many others were equally devoted if less fanatical." This writer finds it almost incredible that a high school text of this proportion could fail to bring in Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist. As it is, it fails to do so, or to mention the participation of Negroes in the struggle for their freedom. True, Harriet Tubman is mentioned in a subsequent passage dealing with the Underground Railroad.

The Nat Turner uprising is briefly discussed. But the apparent point is to show why the South felt so insecure and passed vicious laws, including making it a crime to teach Negroes to read or write. What should be noted, however, is that this insurrection, as well as the many others (it is not indicated that there were others) reflected the discontent of the Negro with his slave status.

The argument of the South that, far from being an unnecessary evil, slavery was a "positive good," is given in great detail. "Slaves were better off and more contented, Southerners claimed, than white wage earners in the North," summed up this notion.

According to this text, the antislavery drive weakened other reform efforts. It is not clear whether the authors agreed with the abolitionists that slavery was such a great evil that, "other reforms could wait."

This topic concludes with the observation that most Northerners were never attracted to the abolitionists, but that they "did come to feel strongly that slavery should not be extended beyond its existing borders."

A brief passage deals with the Fugitive-Slave Act, stating that this law contributed extensively to the tensions which eventually led to the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is described as a book which " . . . gave the world a tragic story of human suffering under the slave system." The influence of this work is well-treated and given a proper perspective. "Still, by itself a book could hardly produce a war. Let us see how events in the nine years after the publication . . . actually led to war between the sections."

This text gives students a rare opportunity to learn about Hinton R. Helper's persuasive tract against slavery, *The Impending Crisis in the South and How to Meet It*. The warning that, "the slavery system doomed the non-slaveholding whites to 'galling poverty and ignorance,'" was an important contemporary document.

On the other hand, it is a shame that David Walker's *Appeal,* a classic among antislavery documents by a Negro, is nowhere mentioned in this text. Many of the other texts in this study include a reference to Walker.

There is no reference to the Negro's participation in the Civil War.

The Reconstruction period opens with the statement that " . . . the former slaves were worse off than they had been under slavery. The luckiest were those who stayed with their masters . . . " This leaves the impression that personal liberty and freedom counted for nothing.

A graphic and detailed description of the Negroes' plight at the end of the war is presented. While it is conceded that the suffering would have been greater if not for the Freedmen's Bureau, the authors state that, "For a number of reasons the Bureau came to be greatly disliked by white Southerners. Most of its activities came to an end in 1869." This almost infers that the Southerners' dislike sprung from reasons sufficient enough to justify the termination of the Bureau; yet it probably should have been kept going much longer than it was.

In dealing with the notorious Black Codes, the text states that, "Laws were passed to keep Negroes from becoming tramps and to force them to work steadily." It is more to the point that these laws were not designed to help anyone, but that they were an attempt to put "slavery in disguise." Rather than offer it as a reaction of the Northerners, the authors should not have hesitated to indicate this point themselves.

Negroes are described as completely at the mercy and will of the villainous Radical Republicans. The purpose of the Union League was to "control the Negro vote." While at another point the authors admit that, "Some Union Club leaders were genuinely interested in the welfare of the Negroes," they had already overstated the case.

There is, however, an impressive attempt to explode the myth that Negroes controlled carpetbag governments, and it does so in just those words: "This is a myth."

A long passage details the corruption and graft of the "carpetbag governments." But there is a strongly-balanced statement about the corruption which prevailed over the entire country. Furthermore, proper credit is given to the achievements of the Reconstruction governments. At the conclusion of a description of many of these accomplishments, the text concludes that, "These changes made the South less feudalistic and more democratic than it had ever been."

On the other hand, there is no reference at all to the participation and contribution of many distinguished Negroes in the Reconstruction governments.

The activities of the Ku Klux Klan as the Southern response to the Reconstruction governments are given detailed descriptions, but without any indication of the authors' disapproval. It was, according to them, only when the "moderate" men got fed up with the "rash, cruel men" who later got control, that the Klan deserved to be disbanded.

There is a long passage dealing with the life and work of Booker T. Washington as an example of the exemplary Negro working for self-improvement. Somehow, this writer finds the traditional recognition of Washington almost offensive in its implications today. But this is a purely personal judgment on his part.

There is no further reference to the Negro for the next 200 pages, passing over his life and problems through both World Wars I and II. A short reference to the fact that there were Negro poets during the 1920s is made in a section dealing with this period.

Almost another two hundred pages go by; at this point we do get a reasonably full account of the civil rights

movement, beginning with the Truman Report, "To Secure These Rights." Quite a bit of historical development and detail is offered. On the other hand, it is too optimistic about the gains achieved and offers no "tone" of approval. Its objectivity is too strained. There is no need for American history books seeking to instill democratic ideals as well as factual information to remain so completely outside the story they are telling. This, in addition to the many omissions, is a great weakness in this text.

History of Our Republic

senior high school text
Leland D. Baldwin
Mary Waring
Editorial Consultants:
Howard B. Sims
Richard H. Nida
D. Van Nostrand Company
Princeton, N.J.
1965

The authors of this text are a professor of history, Leland D. Baldwin of the University of Pittsburgh, and a secondary school teacher, Mary Waring, of Indio High School in California. Two "editorial consultants" are listed with the authors, Howard B. Sims, a high school teacher in Atlanta, Ga., and Richard H. Nida, a high school principal in Los Angeles.

Negroes are introduced in the traditional manner of their arrival as slaves in 1619. This is one of the few texts still clinging to the slavery status of this group rather than that of indentured servants.

The demand for Negro slaves on the plantations came about because "it was believed that white men could not stand to work in the heat." The authors later say that, "Callously, Negroes were viewed as the solution to the labor problem." The voyage of the slaves from Africa to America is described as "dreadful."

No mention of the Negro appears in this text for the next 200 pages; then the authors come to the question of sectional differences. At this point, the "lot of the slave" is briefly described in a noncommital way. "It is difficult to describe the condition of the slaves without making it seem either better or worse than it really was." Yet the authors then proceed to state that "By far most" of the masters were good to their slaves. They then go on to say that, "Strange as it may seem, most slaves had a higher standard of living than most of the world's free workers---higher even than that of some whites in the United States." This argument usually is presented as contemporary Southern arguments, not as they are here, as the authors' judgments. They do observe, however, that, "This would, of course, be cold comfort for anyone who longed for freedom."

Conceding that "resentments undoubtedly existed," the authors contend that of a "number of local slave revolts only one actually reached the stage of extreme violence." They then cite the Nat Turner insurrection. This ignores not only the well-known major revolts of Vesey and Prosser, but the hundreds of lesser-known revolts which have been recorded.

From this the text moves into a discussion of the abolitionist movement. The authors quickly assure the student that this movement had little support in the North. "Most Northerners believed that the Negro race was inferior. They dreaded only less than Southerners what might happen if the slaves were freed." Consistent with this tone, Garrison is portrayed unsympathetically as being "so domineering that most abolitionists tried to steer clear of him." The generous use of "most" by these authors is a distressing clue to the misstatements replete in the text.

Almost surprisingly, the South is criticized for the manner in which it sought to fight abolitionist thought. "In so doing it weakened both civil liberties and the right to freedom of thought."

While the Underground Railroad is briefly mentioned,

the text fails to refer to Frederick Douglass or any other Negro abolitionist. As a matter of fact, no further reference to the Negro appears until after the Civil War.

The discussion of the Reconstruction era smacks of the old-line anti-Radical Republican "scholarship." Beginning with a critical view of the Freedmen's Bureau, which " . . . was hindered both by scoundrels and impractical dreamers among its administrators," the authors offer a completely negative view of this period. Radical Republicans are portrayed as villains who were out to "control . . . Congress and destroy the powers of the states." In another place, Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner made "strong efforts . . . to take the land of 'rebels.'" A photograph of Stevens shows him looking severe and is accompanied with a caption describing him as "the vindictive Thaddeus Stevens." The Union League is accused of having "horsewhipped Negroes who did not vote Republican." But, "The planters were on the whole concerned with aiding and advising the freedmen in the serious business of adjusting to freedom."

The authors do acknowledge, however, that the "Carpetbaggers did much to modernize the Southern state governments and to undo the damage of war . . . Strange as it may seem, the Carpetbagger state constitutions were so plainly suited to the new day that they remained in force after the Southern Democrats came to power." Note the constant use of the emotionally-charged "carpetbagger."

The authors conclude this section with one of the longest and most detailed descriptions of the Ku Klux Klan as the Southern response to the "carpetbag rule." Yet they manage to avoid indicating any distaste or disapproval of this response.

A long stretch of silence characterizes the text until it deals with the "Negro after the war." Here we do get a very sympathetic as well as accurate account of the obstacles facing the Negro because of white bigotry. A portrait of Booker T. Washington accompanies this textual material. The differences between Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois are briefly treated. Especially in the high school texts does this topic seem to be essential.

In a section dealing with the "Negroes and the laws" the authors state that, "One tragic aspect of the generation that followed Reconstruction was the subjection of the Negroes to 'lynch law'---that is mob murder." Few of the texts bring in this important point. A passage, "The economic aspects of segregation," is given brief but welcome treatment.

Some two hundred pages later, toward the end of the text, begins a series of topics dealing with the Negro since 1954. First there appears a full account of the Supreme Court and "Negro Rights." Again, the "slow process of desegregation" is presented, coupled with a good account of the James Meredith episode.

The violence of the Negro revolt follows in a well-balanced passage. After acknowledging that, up to a point, "Negroes had conducted their campaign for equal rights with a notable snese of restraint . . . violence in the spring of 1963 came to the surface . . . Most of it was directed at Negroes and whites demonstrating in a nonviolent manner."

The last passage dealing with "Kennedy's efforts" on behalf of the Negro contains a suspicious implication of the authors' attitude. The reader can draw his own inference. "Not the least disheartening feature of the situation [the Negro's call for equality] was the way in which the world, always prone to criticize the United States, was more inclined to emphasize the hypocrisy of white attitudes and the long roll of injustices to the Negro than to recognize that Kennedy had gone further than any President in history in his efforts to rectify them. This, moreover, was the attitude of many of the newly militant Negroes as they refused to accept anything short of full equality *now*." This writer's reaction is that the authors are suggesting that it is also "disheartening" that "militant Negroes" should demand "full equality *now*." And the italics are theirs, not mine.

This text is of very uneven quality in terms of its treatment of the subject of the Negro. While a number of impressive statements are made, they do not outweigh the generally unfavorable approach. While the quantity

here is greater than many of the texts (but among high school texts just about "average"), the quality of the material is among the weakest.

The American Adventure

senior high school text
Walker D. Wyman
Martin Ridge
Lyons & Carnahan
Chicago
1964

Walker D. Wyman is President of Wisconsin State College, and his background in history is not given in the credit page of the text. Martin Ridge, the second author, teaches history at San Diego State College in California.

In this text, the first reference to the Negro is in a passage dealing with the Spanish settlement in the West Indies at which time "Negro slaves were found more suitable labor for the mines" than the Indians.

Except for this reference, the Negro is not mentioned again in the text until halfway through it, more than 200 pages later, when a section dealing with the question (the format of the entire text is to head each topic with a question) "How Did Slavery Contribute to Sectional Differences?" takes up the subject. A dramatic beginning is made with an excerpt from a prayer written by a Louisiana overseer: "My prayer sincerely to God is that every . . . man, woman and chile that is opposed to slavery . . . shall be trubled with pestilents and calamtys of all kinds . . . They are fit subjects for Hell . . . Amen." The authors write that these thoughts probably expressed the feelings of nearly 12 million white people in the South even though only 25 percent owned slaves.

"Did Slavery Originate in the Old South?" is the next question. Here it is pointed out that "human bondage had its origins thousands of years ago." It is then related that the Portuguese brought back to Europe the first Negro slaves from Africa, primarily to Christianize them. The use of Negro slaves by the early Spanish explorers in the West Indies is mentioned again. At this point the traditional 1619 arrival to the English colonies is brought in.

A chart giving the slave population figures of each of the colonies appears in this connection.

The next question is, "What Caused Slavery to Disappear in the Northern States?" The authors state that, "the Revolution dealt slavery a death blow in the Northern states. The institution seemed contrary to the spirit of freedom." While much of the passage deals with the antislavery impulse in moral terms, the economic unsuitability to the North is incidentally mentioned. On this page there is a feature on Garrison which gives an unemotional, unbiased brief description of his career and his ideals.

To the question, "What Caused the Great Growth of Slavery in the South?" the answer is of course the cotton gin and the fact that slave labor "seemed more economical than paying wages to free workers."

The next question, "What Were the Evils of the Domestic Slave Trade?" consists of an unflattering description of a "typical slave trader" who is " . . . untroubled evidently with a conscience . . . and never evinces the least sign of remorse . . . '" Apparently the authors use a primary source for this.

In another passage the auction sales of human beings is described from another primary source. The splitting of families and slave-breeding are mentioned. A quotation from a slave himself is used to describe his emotions when he is separated from his mother. Finally, a compelling observation from a Virginian who " . . . wondered why the land of Jefferson had become a 'vast menagerie where men are reared for the market.'"

"What Was Slave Life Like on a Southern Plantation?" is a fairly well-balanced account based largely on a

long quote from an ex-slave's "Memoirs." However, these narratives are frequently unreliable and one must be cautious about their accuracy and authenticity.

In discussing Nat Turner's uprising, this text points out not only how many white people were killed, but also that "the number of Negroes killed may have reached one hundred, many of whom took no part in the uprising."

The last question posed in this section is, "Why Did the South Defend Slavery and the Plantation System?" First, the authors relate that, "the small farmer and tradesman did not realize that they were being hurt by the cotton system." But more importantly they did "not want to compete with four million free Negroes."

It is also suggested that these groups "might be inferior to everybody except the slave; but they were superior to him, and that gave them status." History and the Bible are further defenses used by the Southerners to justify the slavery system. Finally, the argument is made that the slaves were better off than their free brethren in the North who "lived in a world of prejudice and discrimination that made their lives hard." It is also argued that since there were "only" 200 slave revolts, it must be that "Negroes were happy to be slaves." The authors counter this argument with their own observations, something too rarely done in other texts which give much space to the Southern arguments. "On the other hand, slave songs such as 'Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen' show discouragement with the life of a slave. The facts that an average of 2,000 escaped to the North over the Underground Railroad each year, and that Southern planters clamored for a strengthened fugitive slave law, suggest that many slaves did seek freedom."

No further mention is made of the Negro until the Reconstruction period. Surprisingly, since the text up to this point treated topics without bias and in a well-balanced fashion, this topic is presented in the most biased and distorted way among all the texts in our study. The worst that the text was guilty of up to this point was leaving out too much, not dealing with the Negro as an individual, and avoiding all references to his contributions and role in American history apart from that of being a slave. But with this section the authors cling to every cliche about the Reconstruction governments and the Negroes.

Beginning with the question, "What did radical reconstruction achieve?" the authors state that Reconstruction was imposed by "force and coercion . . . backed by the authority and weapons of the military occupation." One might conclude from this that there never was Congressional legislation or voting involved. The text then goes on to contend that Reconstruction "did give the Negroes power to run the governments of the South." This statement so violates historical truth and is so patently designed to be provocative that it defies belief.

Not only were "Graft and theft rampant," the authors tell us, but also "corrupt white men and uneducated Negroes ruled the South." This statement, too, goes beyond any reasonable measure of truth. As a further example of Negro "rule," the authors point out that, "In South Carolina, ex-slaves held office from speaker of the house down to doorkeeper." This is probably true. But what is the point? Does this prove "rule" and "corruption"? Certainly the authors' presentation smacks of such a suggestion.

Yet after all this, there is a statement that, "Political corruption was not limited to the Scalawags and Carpetbaggers in the South." Query whether this single note is not obscured by the greater quantity of material reflecting an ill-balanced negative approach to the topic?

As to "How did the South undo radical reconstruction?" the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, which was organized to "accomplish illegally what it could not be openly," is described without moral judgment. However, the violence is given a graphic description in a quotation from an ex-slave who had been a victim.

The section is concluded with a rather naive observation that "the ten years of Reconstruction were unhappy from several points of view. Probably the progress of the Negro was delayed by many years because of the policies pursued." There is, in the last sentence of this section, a statement that "the period did begin free public education [segregated]; more democratic government by extending suffrage [denying it to Negroes]; and some new social legislation" [including segregation].

For the next 250 pages of text there is no reference to the Negro except for a picture of Booker T. Washington describing him as a "leading educator of Negroes." There comes, finally, in a chapter on "The United States After 1945," a question, "How did segregation become a national problem?" The text never really presents an answer to this question. The Supreme Court case in 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education*, is described, and then the Southern reaction, including a quote from the notorious Congressional "Manifesto" by 96 Southern Congressmen pledging themselves to bring about a reversal of the decision.

There follow three short paragraphs dealing with the Little Rock episode, and a mention of sit-in demonstrations and boycotts. None of this responds to the question, "How did segregation become a national problem?"

The final passage in this section raises the question, "To what extent will laws, 'sit-ins,' or boycotts *really* solve the social problems of minority groups? Questions involving desegregation draw sharply contrasting responses from different persons in each of the fifty states." The question and the answer both reflect noncommittal writing at its worst.

This text represents one of the worst treatments of the Negro in American history included in our study. Both quantitatively and qualitatively it fails to come close to a standard of accuracy and balance.

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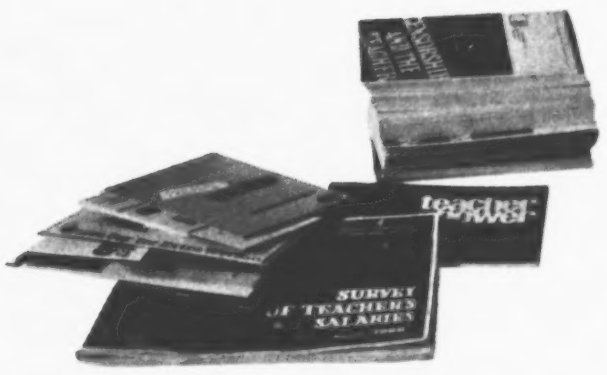

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